National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXI. NO. 29. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1860. WHOLE NO. 1,069.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,
AT TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM,
BY THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
At its Office, No. 5 Beekman Street, New York,
AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
107 *N. Fifth St., above Arch, Philadelphia!*

Letters for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business affairs of the paper, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

THE PRO-SLAVERY SIDE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

SENATOR TRUMBULL'S SPEECH.

[In Springfield, Ill., recently, the Hon. LYMAN TRUMBULL, United States Senator, made a speech which is considered as a semi-official pronunciamento of the President elect. We give an extract.]

Mr. Lincoln, although the candidate of the Republican party, as Chief Magistrate, will neither belong to that or any other party. When inaugurated, he will be the President of the country, and the whole country, and I doubt not will be as ready to defend and protect the State in which he has not received a solitary vote against any encroachment upon its constitutional rights, as the one in which he has received the largest majority; while they, by whose votes he has been designated Chief Magistate of the republic, will expect him to maintain and carry forward the principles on which he was elected. They know that in doing so no encroachment will be made on the reserved rights of any of the States. They know that the Federal Government is one of delegated powers; that it can do nothing except the authority for the act can be found in the instrument which created it, and that all powers not conferred are reserved to the States, or the people of the States. Hence, when their political opponents have charged them with abolitionism, or attributed to them a desire to interfere with slavery in the States, or some fanatic has insisted they ought to do so, the reply has invariably been that the people who made the Federal Government did not think proper to confer on it such authority, and it has, therefore, no more right to meddle with slavery in a State than it has to interfere with serfdom in Russia.

Nor are the people of the non-slaveholding States in any way responsible for slavery in the States which tolerate it, because, as to that question, they are as foreign to each other as independent governments. I have labored in and for the Republican organization with entire confidence that whenever it should be in power, each and all of the States would be left in as complete control of their own affairs respectively, and at as perfect liberty to choose and employ their own means of protecting property, and preserving peace and order within their respective limits, as they have ever been under any administration. Those who have voted for Mr. Lincoln have expected, and still expect this, and they would not have voted for him had they expected otherwise. I regard it as extremely fortunate for the peace of the whole country that this point, upon which the Republicans have been so long and so persistently misrepresented, is now to be brought to a practical test, and placed beyond the possibility of doubt.

It should be a matter of rejoicing to all true Republicans that they will now have an opportunity of demonstrating to their political adversaries, and to the world, that they are not for interfering with the domestic institutions of any of the States, nor the advocates of negro equality or amalgamation, with which political demagogues have so often charged them. When this is shown, a reaction will assuredly take place in favor of Republicanism. The South, even, will be satisfied; the rights of Northern men will be respected; and the fraternal feeling existing in olden times, when men from all parts of the country went forth together to battle for a common cause against a common enemy, will be restored.

PERSONAL LIBERTY LAWS.

From The Albany Journal, November 19.

The Fugitive Slave law was not only "aggressive" but vindictive—*so* vindictive that it defeats its execution; for the popular sentiment was aroused less by the principle involved in the law than by its obnoxious and hostile details. The bill was framed more with a view to degrade and outrage freemen than to restore slaves. We raised this objection to it while pending in the United States Senate, and have known ever since that if the law is a *nullity*, it has been rendered void more on account of its vindictiveness than of its principles.

That the Constitution calls for a Congressional Fugitive Slave law we have never denied. Nor do we hesitate in yielding obedience to all the requirements of the Constitution. But there is a decent and a brutal way of enforcing every right. Senator Mason, of Virginia, in framing the Fugitive Slave law, made it odious and insulting. His speech in its favor was bitter and vituperative. In short, it was a bill better calculated (if, indeed, that was not its intent) to cause strife and discord than to carry out a hard provision of the Constitution. And to their shame be it spoken, Northern doughfaces voted for and passed it.

New York has enacted no Personal Liberty law. Though pressed frequently upon the Legislature, in retaliation for the *vindictive* provisions of the Fugitive Slave law, we have never felt that there was any practical necessity for it. We have not, and are not likely to suffer any abridgment of personal liberty.

We cannot speak for other States farther than to express the hope that if the right spirit could be awakened all around, this question might be adjusted. The South, in the language of Mr. Lincoln, is "entitled to an efficient Fugitive Slave law." Let such a law be enacted promptly, when Congress meets, and we venture to express the opinion that Personal Liberty laws would be repealed.

The federal officers should be armed with all the authority and power needful in executing the Fugitive Slave law. It should punish all who resist its execution. But when it inflicts pains and penalties, in the form of fine and imprisonment, upon private citizens who refuse to become either sheriffs, constables or policemen, it goes too far and exacts too much.

There is, however, but faint hope of awakening, in South Carolina, anything like justice, reason or common sense. That State has no interest in, and dares nothing for the Fugitive Slave law. The treason rife there has been seeking pretexts for years. It has only a pretext now—a lame and flimsy pretext.

[The Albany *Evening Journal* of a later date copies a despatch, stating that "a resolution had been offered in the Georgia Legislature demanding the repeal, by Northern States, of laws obstructing the rendition of fugitive slaves; also an enactment of Congress for removing obstructions by Territories in the introduction of all property, such action being contingent on Georgia remaining in the Union," and subjoins these comments:]

Here is something tangible. *It suggests a basis on which negotiations can be inaugurated.* South Carolina goes ahead without "rhyme or reason." There, it is not disunion for cause, but disunion *per se*.

Assuming the possibility of coming together in a fraternal spirit for the purpose of effecting a more perfect union among the States, we are not without hopes that the result may prove auspicious. With a mutual desire to harmonize differences, let us suppose that in the place of a *vindictive* Fugitive Slave law—a law repugnant to manhood and honor—one should be enacted which arms the Federal authorities with all needful power for its execution, *together with a provision making counties where fugitives are rescued by violence, from officers who have them in charge, liable for the value of the slaves so rescued.*

And in regard to the other vexed question, viz.: the right of going into the Territories with slaves, *why not restore the Missouri Compromise line?* That secured to the South all Territory adapted, by soil and climate, to its "peculiar institution."

FUGITIVE CHATTELS—THE VEXED QUESTION.

From The Springfield Republican.

We have always held the "Personal Liberty laws" and other legal obstructions thrown in the way of the rendition of fugitive slaves to be useless and pernicious. To present this view now may be misinterpreted into a pusillanimous yielding to Southern clamor. But no matter; it is magnanimous to confess and repair a wrong, and if the free States have been wrong in this matter, it will be honorable in them to correct the error. We do not suppose it will be done under the present excitement, because it will look like an attempt to conciliate the Disunionists, but there is no harm in looking at facts as they are and preparing to act when the proper time comes. It is very well understood that on this point alone is the South able to make out a prima facie case, either of violation of the Constitution or of injustice to the slave States on the part of the North. And here they do make it out. It is of no use to quibble about it, and attempt to force another construction upon the language of the Constitution; there is no shadow of doubt that the framers of the Constitution intended to provide and did provide for the rendition of slaves, and although the present Fugitive Slave law contains provisions repugnant to all the established principles of law and repulsive to all the sentiments of humane and Christian men, it is constitutional in its intent and scope, and is so pronounced by all competent judicial authorities. It is not strange that a law so barbarous in its spirit and so regardless in some of its provisions of the rights of the race exposed to its influence should encounter resistance, and that men and women everywhere should use all the means within their power to shield and protect the fugitive negroes. This feeling, so universal in the free States, will prevent, as it always has, the return of any considerable number of fugitives who have once touched free soil. The Personal Liberty laws were not needed to make this fact certain, and they do not in the slightest degree contribute to it. On the contrary, they hinder it, by prompting the slave-owners to a more obstinate determination to recover their property, and by enlisting the more energetic efforts of the general government. Under the most stringent of these "Personal Liberty" laws, negroes proved to be slaves are just as inevitably returned to their masters, and the only difference is that they make the process more expensive and annoying. These Northern retaliatory laws, therefore, while they do not prevent the return of a single negro to slavery, have the effect to exasperate the South and give her occasion to complain that we refuse to fulfil an article of the compact most essential to them.

We have not touched the moral argument that slavery being wrong, we cannot assist in the return of a slave or allow it if we can prevent it. For an individual acting on his own private responsibility, that mode of treating the question may suffice. But the State can take no such position with any honor or consistency. If we cannot stay in the Union as it is, and fulfil the contract as it is, then the only honorable course is to go out of the Union by revolution, as South Carolina proposes to do. Daniel Webster said in a speech in 1851, at Capon Springs, Va.:

"I do not hesitate to say and repeat, that if the Northern States refuse wilfully and deliberately to carry into effect that part of the Constitution which respects the restoration of fugitive slaves, the South would no longer be bound to observe the compact. A bargain broken on one side is a bargain broken on all sides."

All the New England States, and New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa, have laws designed to embarrass the action of the Fugitive Slave law, those of Massachusetts, Vermont and New Hampshire being the most stringent. We suppose none of them are so drawn as to be in direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, and certainly no one of them is so cunningly compacted that it will prevent the rendition of a negro who is proved to be a slave. What is the use, then? Why should we provoke the other section of the confederacy by laws which mean nullification, which are unconstitutional in spirit, while we have not the courage to go the whole, and nullify the Constitution boldly and squarely? It is a mischievous folly, and we believe it has been one of the chief obstructions to the growth of the Republican cause, as it is palpably the source of the worst practical difficulty with which the party has now to contend. If this sort of sentimental legislation were out of the way, the South would not have left a solitary ground of complaint that would bear examination.

Various plans are suggested for the settlement of this vexed question. One is that the general government shall pay for fugitive slaves, instead of undertaking to recover them. This would cost no more to the government, probably, and be more satisfactory to the slaveholders, as they do not now reclaim more than one out of ten of their runaways. But the scheme is open to some objections. If there should be any such return to fraternal feeling on both sides as to make a better understanding possible, the most sensible thing to be done would be the repeal of the present outrageous Fugitive Slave bill, and the enactment of a decent and humane law, which shall recognize that the negro as well as the white man has rights to be protected, and which shall afford security against the kidnapping of free colored men under pretence of reclaiming runaway slaves; and then the repeal of all "Personal Liberty" bills by the free States. That would leave the whole matter on clear constitutional grounds, as it used to be, and remove a cause of wrangling and controversy in which there is nothing substantial to be gained by either side. No more fugitive negroes would go back to slavery under such an arrangement, but no Southern State would be able to accuse us of violating the Constitution and making laws to defraud them of their human property. It may seem an inopportune time to introduce this subject, but after all this is the real "bone of contention," and there is no reason why it should not have a thorough and candid reconsideration.

THE REPUBLICANS NOT IN FAVOR OF NEGRO EQUALITY.

From The St. Louis (Missouri) Democrat.

Our readers are aware that the question of extending negro suffrage was voted upon in New York at the election on Tuesday last. Under the Constitution of that State, negroes who own property worth $250 are privileged to vote. The question was to amend the Constitution so as to extend the privilege to all adult negroes, so as to place them, in that respect, on a footing of equality with the whites. The majority for Lincoln in the State is at least 40,000. It may, therefore, be taken for granted if the Republican party of New York be in favor of negro equality the amendment has been adopted. So far the returns indicate that not only has it not been adopted, but that it has been rejected by an immense vote. Probably none but the white and colored Abolitionists cast their ballots for the amendment. We find that it received but 1,630* votes in the city out of an aggregate of nearly 100,000. We have no doubt there are at least 1,630 radical abolition votes in the city. Lincoln's vote there was 32,797 and the vote against the amendment was 37,471, from which we may infer that some Democrats, as well as the great body of the Republicans, voted in the negative. The design of the Fusionists was to let the question be carried by default, with the view of using it to the detriment of the Republicans hereafter. The result shows that the amalgamated factions were as much at fault in their calculations in reference to this particular matter as in reference to all others. Thus the imputation of being in favor of establishing negro equality, which has been urged against the Republican party with such venomous pertinacity, is shown to be utterly false. Tried by the crucial test of the ballot box, it is proved to be without the shadow of a foundation. This is all the more notable in the State of New York, where Seward is supposed to exercise supreme control within the Republican organization. He is avowedly in favor of obliterating all distinctions between classes and races, so far as the privilege of voting is concerned. His maxim is, that where the ballot box rules every man should be entrusted with the ballot. Yet we find that the party, of which he is a leader, refuses to accept that maxim, even in his own State. We quoted Mr. Lincoln's opinions last week on this subject, and now it is evident they have received the indorsement of the Empire State, we trust that the anti-republican organs will see the futility of persisting in the reiteration of the stale slander.

* A mistake. The vote in favor of the amendment in this city was 10,483.—*Ed. Standard.*

GOV. PACKER, having been invited by James Redpath and others to attend a meeting in Boston, to consider and discuss the best means of abolishing slavery, returned the following answer:

HARRISBURGH, Penn., Nov. 21, 1860.

SIR: In my opinion, the young men whose names are attached to the foregoing letter, would better serve God and their country by attending to their own business. John Brown was rightfully hanged, and his fate should be a warning to others having similar proclivities.

WM. F. PACKER, Governor of Pennsylvania.

Selections.

DR. CHEEVER IN GLASGOW.

SPEECH IN THE CITY HALL, OCT. 17, 1860.

I STAND here to-night to appeal in behalf of the freedom of God's Word against the sin of American slavery. I appeal in behalf of four millions of slaves and their posterity for your prayers, your sympathies, your remonstrances, without ceasing, against the infinite and complicated iniquity of such bondage. I appeal in behalf of equity and justice outraged on so terrible a scale—in behalf of the interests of humanity everywhere at stake—in behalf of Africa and its millions—in behalf of outraged piety, for the honor of the Cross—in behalf of universal Christendom, insulted by the sanction of this appalling sin—in behalf of nearly the whole world, revolting against the despotism of a system of such indescribable cruelty and wickedness (cheers). I had hoped to be able to present this appeal, without entering into the details of any of the conflicts through which in America every Church which takes up the cause of the slave, and demands his freedom, will have to contest, at extreme cost, even its right of existence as an abolition Church, fighting the Slave Power with the Word of God. But I find myself compelled into some notice of the extraordinary calumnies by which we have been assailed, and of the measures resorted to for the purpose of setting even the Churches of Great Britain against us (hear, hear). You are aware of the rapidity of the march of the Slave Power, the omnipotence it now wields, the impudence with which its maxims are assumed as the morality, and its dictates as the will of Heaven. You are aware of the barriers of freedom it has swept away, the churches it has conquered, the citadels, theological, political, juridical, it has occupied, the constitutional supreme authority it has usurped, enthroned now on the highest tribunal of justice in the nation. You are aware of the infamous cruelties it has exalted into precedents, and established as its common law—of the increasing iniquity and inhumanity of its jurisprudence, the Fugitive Slave law, the Dred Scott decision, the maxim that black men have no rights that white men are bound to respect, the procedures of slave States selling their whole free colored population at auction into perpetual chattelism, and forbidding the emancipation of slaves, the free States at the same time conspiring to fasten those cruelties by exiling the negro race from their soil. You are aware of the increasing sanction and defence of the sin as an article of innocence and expediency, if not positive holiness, by churches, synods, ecclesiastical organizations of nearly every denomination, and missionary societies; the union of nearly all parties in abhorrence of the negro race, demanding its expulsion; the increase of the prejudice against color and power of caste thereon founded; the remorseless perfection with which the sin of slavery is eliminated of every element of mercy, and in such bare and unmitigated depravity is set up in the very temple of God as a Dagon for men's worship (hear, hear). Your invitation has suggested to me, first, the consideration of the present aspects of slavery, and progress of the Slave Power; and, second, my own position and that of my fellow-laborers, and some of our difficulties in maintaining it (cheers). Within half-a-dozen years the progress of the Slave Power and the demoniac justification of slavery, even by the Church of Christ, so called, as a vested right and sacred institution, have been appalling. Something, also, has been gained on the side of abolitionism, but nothing in comparison with the progress of the sin (applause). The rapidity of that progress has been mainly a result of the infamous Dred Scott decision carried everywhere into practice. Did time permit, I would reveal to you something of the horrors of the revival and renewal of the African and foreign slave trade—something, also, of the continuance and activity of the internal and domestic slave trade, defended as a vested right by the very men who with ostentatious energy denounce the foreign slave trade as worthy of the gallows—something also of the horrors and atrocities of slave breeding for the markets, and the complicated and compound exasperations of kidnapping, and of the sale of white children by their fathers, and of the involutions of all these villanies for adoption and defence by Northern merchants, statesmen, and theologians, on the plea that self-defence, self-interest, and the saving of the Union, require that we should not break with the South on these points, nor irritate them by any interference, moral or political, with their vested rights, or any denial of the sacredness of their property in the bodies and souls of the immortal beings whom they buy and sell as chattels and as merchandise, making them over at any time to Northern merchants as security for Southern debts (cheers). We cannot tamper with such a system as this; we cannot treat it with affectionate language; we cannot enter into any compromise with its advocates. They have sinned against the light, they hold the truth in unrighteousness, they seem given over of God to strong delusion, to believe a lie, because they loved not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness. There ought to be no shield thrown between their consciences and the extremest burning condemnation of the Word of God. Yet there are those who scruple not to resort to the most unworthy sophistry to protect them, and to justify the Churches for admitting them, with this very sin, to continued Christian fellowship. Paul did not speak against slaveholders by name, say they, but only against man-stealers, and the Greek word used to signify man-stealers is not the word he would have employed if slaveholders had been included in the condemnation! Now, we say it is the word, with the Hebrew meaning. But this is the critical and trembling bridge thrown across this unfathomable gulf, over which an iniquity, adjudged of God to the penalty of death, under the law, shall be carried safely to the sanction of the gospel. The offer of Blondin to trundle the Prince of Wales on a tight rope across the Falls of Niagara in his wheelbarrow was modesty in itself compared with the impudence of such presumption; and the folly of the fool that put himself on the rope-walker's shoulders to be carried across the same gulf was wisdom in comparison with the madness that will throw the morals of the Church and the honor of the Word of God on the back of a theological and philological rope dancer. It is a spectacle of profoundest wonder—these immoral Blondins of theology, who can run upon the stilts of a Greek criticism, where ordinary Christians and scholars can find no footing for the steadiest understanding. But they have prepared themselves by a long discipline of sophistry and technicality for such displays. They would not be afraid to take Mahomed's bridge to Paradise, confident of a solid and safe tread on the edge of the sharpest scimitar ever tempered (hear, hear). We must call things by their right names; and it being indisputable that God's Word makes slaveholding as inconsistent with Christianity as murder, it must not be permitted to evade that condemnation by putting on a false dress. It would be like acquitting a criminal because he has adopted an *alias* (laughter). The John Roe of your indictment calls himself Richard Roe, and so you justify him (hear, hear). The condemnation of slaveholding as man-stealing is essential, or the Word of God is inapplicable to the crime. I am reminded of an Arctic traveller's description of the cunning of the foxes, when they found out the manner in which the hunters set their gun-traps, with the trigger fastened by a line to the bait, so that the moment the foxes attempted to take the bait, the gun went off, and the thief was shot in the very act of robbery. When they found this out they would dig a trench in the snow underneath the line and bait, and then, advancing to the bait below the range of the shot, would draw it down and run off with it, while the shot whizzed over their heads perfectly harmless (cheers). Just thus the opponents of abolitionism are teaching the slaveholder how to evade the charge of guilt with which the Word of God is loaded and aimed against him. By refusing to brand slaveholding as sin, you enable the robber to steal away his prey, unscathed by the shot. He takes your bait, but avoids your bullet, and you cannot touch him. It is not possible to level him, but with the grape shot of God's Word fired at him as a slaveholder, and at his slaveholding as always sin (applause). You can do nothing but with the utmost plainness, applying the very denunciations of the Word of God. If the Church and the ministry in the United States would unitedly do this, slavery would not stand; the slaveholder could not commit this crime and walk about as a respectable man and a Christian; the system of slavery and the act of slaveholding would come to an end. But so terrrible and universal is the plague and fallacy of this wickedness—so fearfully has the infection struck even in our piety, that not only has the revival of religion failed to exert any perceptible influence against it; but if any one church and minister take openly and avowedly the ground of abolitionism, and call upon other Churches and ministers to take the same ground with and upon the Word of God against slaveholding as inconsistent with Christianity, and to demand in God's name the immediate deliverance of those who are now enslaved, forthwith there is a union of the Churches and the ministry to put a stop to the career of that Church—to spike their guns—to silence what is denounced as their violence, vituperation, and fanaticism, and to deliver them over as infidels to Satan that they may learn not to blaspheme (laughter and loud cheers). If obloquy and abuse—as Burke has grandly said—are essential parts of triumph, our triumph is complete (hear, hear). Now, the secret of the conflict as it rages against my particular Church more than anywhere else is simply and solely the avowed determination on our part, trusting to God, to keep up this battle for the immediate and entire abolition of slavery. It is because we avow ourselves Abolitionists, and are determined to be nothing at all in this great cause, if not that, and that too by the direct command of the Almighty, to break every yoke and let the enslaved go free (cheers). God never commanded us to set ourselves against the extension of slavery, and at the same time to let it remain where it is as a vested right. He commands us to abolish it. He speaks for the sake of the enslaved, and not for that abomination of hypocrisy and selfishness, the white man's party (hear, hear). God speaks for the right and the relief of the victims of this cruelty—the four millions and their helpless babes now crushed down into merchandise by its avarice and lust—that they be delivered just where they are, and raised up and treated as human beings. Our anti-slavery is anti-slavery and abolitionism at God's command, just where slavery is, and not where it is not. And it is because of this that we are cast out as fanatics and madmen, because we direct the fire of God's Word against the present slaveholder in America as the man-stealer, and demand the release of the very slaves whom now, at this moment, with the sanction of the church, and the pretended authority of God, he holds as his chattels (cheers). It is because we insist upon this as a present duty, and preach against slaveholding as a present sin. It is because we do not let off a mere straggling expression now and then on a fast day—a transitory flash as of lightning at midnight—but endeavor to keep up a continuous, steady stream of fire and light upon and against this great wickedness (great cheering). And we are denounced because we demand the excommunication of the slaveholders from fellowship as Christians while they hold this sin; because we implore the American Board to cast out the slaveholder from their missionary Churches; because we endeavor to arouse and unite all Christendom on this sure and righteous principle against this sin. The New York *Independent* denounces us as Abolitionists, and asks, Is Dr. Tyng an Abolitionist? Is Dr. Gordon an Abolitionist? Is Judge Jessop an Abolitionist? Have any of the rulers or of the Pharisees believed on him? But this fanatic people, who knoweth not the law, are accursed. The same journal pronounces judgment against me as the advocate of the now almost universally repudiated principle of Christian excommunication against this sin of slaveholding; and yet when it becomes necessary to make Christian men in this country believe that they and the Churches are as thorough as my Church or myself on this point, does not hesitate to claim that as their principle. They denounce it, and me for holding and proclaiming it at home, but proclaim it themselves abroad. I introduced a resolution at a meeting of the American Board declaring slaveholding an immorality, to be treated as such by the Churches, and the resolution was opposed by Dr. Bacon of the *Independent*, and was rejected. I introduced a similar resolution in the Congregational body of ministers, declaring slaveholding an immorality to be preached against, and it was opposed there also, but passed at length, rejecting, however, the word "slaveholding" at the instance of Dr. Thompson, thus depriving the resolution of its grasp upon the conscience of the slaveholder, and enabling him to evade both the law and the gospel, being admitted as a slaveholder into the Christian Church, and into the missionary Churches. The resolution would not have been introduced at all, in any shape, but for me, and at my urgency; for the war against slavery was being carried on, not in the very unpopular way of charging slavery as sin, but in the popular way of denouncing the Tract Society for not being willing to denounce its abuses in their publications, and all Dr. Thompson's efforts and resolutions were only in condemnation of the Tract Society. My resolution went against slaveholding as in itself sinful, and this the editors of *The Independent*, and the great body of the Churches and the ministry, reject as ultraism and fanaticism; and yet, in this country, and for the purpose of making it believed here that my views and the views of my Church are not in any degree in advance of theirs, the editors of *The Independent* now claim as theirs the very principle which they have denounced me for advocating; and Dr. Thompson goes so far as to claim the very resolution on this subject, prepared and introduced by me, as his own resolution, because of that alteration which was proposed and carried by him, and which, in the use made of it, takes away nearly all its efficiency (hear, hear). To get credit in this country for the Churches, I myself am presented as simply the representative of the purest and best anti-slavery of the Churches, and yet, to prevent the success of my efforts here, I am denounced and my Church misrepresented as violent, fanatical, extreme, imprudent, disorganizing. This double representation must be a mystery to you, for I myself stand perplexed and in doubt before it (cheers). "The voice is Jacob's, and the hands are Esau's." Nay, there are two voices, and the one denies the other. The voice at home says aside to the churches—"Gentlemen, Dr. Cheever and his Church misrepresent and vituperate us, and are endeavoring to get money on false pretences, as if they were persecuted for righteousness' sake, and as if they were truer in their anti-slavery principles, and more faithful to them than others. They are fanatical and violent Abolitionists, whom we disown, and warn all the country against supporting them or following their example. They are making the pulpit and the Word of God a mere vehicle of cursing and of bad temper—an Ebal without any answering Gerizim—and are doing infinite mischief to the cause of which they pretend to be the warmest advocates. We, on the other hand, are full of love and peace, and manage to carry on the war against slavery without strife, without any offence given or taken in the fulness of the blessing of millennial glory, the lion and the lamb lying down together in the same fold. They would expel every slaveholder from the Churches as a man-stealer; we abhor such wholesale bitterness and calling of hard names, and we abjure the abolitionism of which they are the prophets and supporters. We maintain our anti-slavery principles without any opposition or unpopularity in our Churches; the people know our principles, and that is enough; we do not need to be always proclaiming them, and as to the slavery at the South we have no responsibility—no right to intefere. Dr. Cheever and his Church, and the Church Anti-Slavery Society, are all in the same condemnation of abolitionism, and we denounce them as unworthy of our confidence, and very dangerous to follow in their ruinous career." The other voice, the voice abroad, speaketh in this wise, it being as envious a creature as ever was imagined in Prospero's Island (a laugh). His backward voice is to utter bad speeches and to detract; his forward voice now is to speak well of his friend—"Gentlemen, Dr. Cheever is worthy of all honor and praise, and you may be sure he will always be faithful to the cause of the enslaved. We send him to you as a simple representative of the best anti-slavery sentiment of the Churches of New England. There is nothing new in his views, nor is he the only man among us who is faithful to them. But he is worthy of your confidence; take him to your hearts, and give him a grand reception. Let his Church go—but take care of the Pastor—avoid all sympathy with them, but shower your compliments on him, for we admire his faithfulness, and maintain his views" (hear, hear). Now, upon my word, I don't know what to make of this. I cannot understand it. If you can, you are welcome to any elucidation of the mystery; but I pray you bear me witness that most unwillingly do I refer to this matter or waste one word upon it, being compelled to do so by the industrious circulation of injurious and ambiguous voices in this country, intended to produce a sentiment of distrust towards me and my Church, and effectually to prevent the success of any appeal which I might have desired to make for sympathy and aid. The most absurd and inconsistent slanders have been printed and scattered abroad against us. If we engaged ourselves in throwing back the mud and stones which are showered upon us, or even in carting them out of the way, forty scavengers would have to be employed nearly all their time, and we could do nothing but oversee them (cheers). But, after all, they are blundering antagonists. They have advertised their opposition in a protest signed by some 30 persons, and printed in Great Britain, against the action of the Church in support of its Pastor, and against my own efforts to obtain encouragement in this dreadful conflict in behalf of the enslaved (cheers). The appeal of the Church, if successful, mortifies and defeats them, and they are absolutely fanatical in their bitterness against it. I am reminded of an anecdote of the Pasha of Egypt having to drill the Egyptian army in European tactics. The new Christian system, as it was called, was unpopular among the Turks, even to fanaticism, and on one occasion, while putting the men through the exercise of platoon firing, the Pasha heard the whistling of several bullets about his own ears. He coolly stopped and gave the order to cease the exercise, and then sharply reproved the men for being such contemptibly bad shots; not one of them had hit him. But begin again, said he, you can do better another time (laughter and cheers). Now, it is impossible for me, across the Atlantic, to bid these fanatical riflemen to stop shooting, but I can at least assure them that I could teach them a better aim. "Your practice is sharp, gentlemen, but you are disgracefully bad shots."

[Dr. Cheever reviewed, point by point, the "Protest" sent across the water by his opponents to defeat his mission, and then concluded as follows.]

We find the heaviest maledictions in the Word of God are against this iniquity—that all its features are made the subject of special and awful maledictions in turn; and not only so, but the fountain crime, the act and sin of slaveholding, whence flow all the consequent particular violations of every commandment in the Decalogue, is set apart by itself—apart from its consequences, as a sin in itself, in the same category with the crime of murder. We ask for what possible purposes are these maledictions crowded and concentrated in God's Word but to be applied against that very sin, to be used in God's name in the great work of its abolition? They are to be used in reliance on God, under the influence of his Spirit, in the exercise of love, and not of wrath. But they must be used, and who can use them but the Church of God and the ministry of Jesus Christ, to whom his Word is command, with command and authority to apply it against all sin, whether men will hear or forbear. There is nothing else that will reach men's consciences, nothing that will subdue them, but this will, for God has declared it. His own omnipotence is committed to his Church, if they will throw themselves on him, and just as his early disciples did, speak his Word in the face of opposing nations. This is the only salvation, God's wrath revealed from heaven against all unrighteousness, and Jesus as the Savior of sinners, not in their sins, but from them. Now, if the Church of God, if the ministers of Jesus had taken his Word and applied it against this sin many years ago, it would have been abolished. If the Church, in the spirit of love and power, and of a sound mind, had applied the pungent and terrible fire of the Word against those who practise this sin, there would have been no need of any other warfare against it (cheers). There would have been no need of John Brown, and no such awful tragedy as the judicial murder of that majestic Christian hero (applause)—if the ministry had armed themselves with God's Word, and made that moral incessant resistance against the sin and its supporters which they were bound to do. But the longer this faithfulness is deferred, the more necessary it becomes, and the greater is the burden of those who come after, and whose souls God may set on fire, and the greater are the perils and disadvantages under which they work, and the greater is the agitation and enmity and wrath which the Word produces, and the greater the demand for the extremest intensity and incessantness in the play of its thunderings and lightnings (cheers). And this is just the spectacle, the fierce moral conflict, God's Word and Satan grappling, that we desire to see; this is just the trial and the development of Christianity which we are longing, yearning to behold. This is the vindication of the Cross from the charge of being the minister of sin, and such sin, which the Church and the ministry are bound in faithfulness to their Master, though its cost be even unto death, to fling forth to a gazing world; this conquest of the most gigantic sin that ever bound the world and infected and corrupted the Church in its pestilential involutions (cheers). Let but a few Churches unite, filled with the spirit of the old Hebrew prophets, and of him whose Spirit spake by the Prophets as well as the Apostles—apply the fire of the Divine Word with prayer for the Divine Spirit, in fearless reliance on God, right to the heart and the seat of this iniquity, there where it reigns, and it would be speedily seen that what all political power, management, compromise, all carnal wisdom, all selfish bargains, all motives and compulsions even of interest could not do, God's Word can do. This would be the greatest triumph of Christianity in modern times, and would be felt in the farthest corners of heathenism. It would do more for the conversion of the world than all the missionary efforts from the Reformation to this day (cheers). It is such an application that in all our weakness, and with every power against us, the despised and hated Church of the Puritans and its pastor are humbly and earnestly endeavoring to make. This is our experiment, and we beseech you to aid us in in it, and we assure you of the vast power exerted by your sympathy and uncompromising utterances on the right side. The moral electricity of a meeting here travels across the Atlantic, and the rage and violence resulting from your rebuke are a proof of its effectiveness. If our Churches will array themselves against this iniquity, even the boundless cotton interest cannot any longer shield it. The Slave Power, when it sees you doing this, will come to you with sackcloth on its loins and ropes on its head, with affecting appeals for pity. "Thy servant, Benhadad; I pray thee, let me live." It watches now diligently whatever word may come from you, and hastily catches it; and if you should at any time say to the monster, My brother, and send him away with the covenant of cotton, you would be worse than Ahab of old, when he let go out of his hand an enemy of Israel, whom God had appointed to utter destruction (loud cheering).

A VOICE FROM THE BAPTISTS OF ENGLAND.

From the (London) Christian Cabinet, Oct 31.

A LECTURE on Slavery was delivered on Wednesday evening last, in the Baptist Chapel, Commercial street, Whitechapel, by the Rev. Charles Stovel. The chair was taken at half-past seven o'clock by George Gowland, Esq. A hymn was sung. The Rev. W. H. Bonner offered prayer; after which the chairman introduced the lecturer, who he stated had been well known among them for the last thirty years as one of the greatest advocates for our civil and religious liberty.

The Rev. Charles Stovel then delivered an able and soul-stirring address, glancing briefly at the history of the anti-slavery conflict during the past thirty years, showing that it was the imperative duty of Christians to raise their voices till the Church, of which they formed part, was cleansed from the evil which at present it fostered, or refused to condemn.

The lecturer presented and read the following fraternal address from "The First Calvinistic Baptist Church in England" to the Baptist Churches in the United States of America:

"Dear Brethren: Since the passing of your American Fugitive Slave law, in 1850, more than one beloved member in the body of Christ have found refuge in our communion. Compassion for them in their expatriation and personal injuries, has combined with other facts to fix our attention again on the slavery tolerated in the United States, and called for the present appeal to your Christian principle.

"From the time when our Church was organised, in 1633, rejoicing in the extension of our Churches in England, and from the departure of Roger Williams with the charter for Rhode Island, in America, we have ever been open to the advice and exhortation of Churches cherishing the same faith and subjected to the same Lord. We also use the same Christian and fraternal faithfulness to the Churches in communion, wherever the will and honor of our Lord have been by them resisted or defaced before mankind.

"Bear with us, therefore, brethren, while we submit to you that, as the witnesses of the Christ, and recipients of his great salvation, a great work devolves on you in separating from the defences of American slavery the prestige and moral influence which they derive from connivance or open advocacy in the Churches, by the members or the ministers of your communion. Worldly and wicked men, when advocating this sin, only disgrace themselves; but you in refusing to defend, to comfort, and, when possible, to release its victims, dishonor the Lord whom you serve, in whose mercy you hope, and by whose name you are known in all the world.

"It is written, 'He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, shall surely be put to death.' Under this law of God, on evidence which no power could refute, the African slave trade has been justly condemned as piracy. The American slavery, which sprung from it, therefore, has no justification from God. The legal maxim, 'Partus sequitur ventrem,' makes the child of a stolen mother to inherit the just claim of that injured mother to liberty and compensation for her wrongs. The addition to your slaves by kidnapping from the Northern States, and by the piratical slave trade on your Southern shores, adds nothing to mitigate the criminal claim to property in American slaves. However protected by special pleadings, violence and civil law, claims so hostile to the love of God in Christ, and the very letter of his command ought never to be countenanced or spared by the witnesses and the followers of the Lamb.

"American slavery contains within itself elements which can never exist but in direct hostility to God. He has made human life, the marriage relation, a free exercise of conscience, the use of his Word, personal purity, and the action of the heart in worship before his throne, *sacred*. Such personal rights are kept at the disposal of God alone, in preparation for his judgment. Whether willingly or by force, their transfer to the disposal of man is a robbery of God. That this conviction lurks in the minds of slaveholders is certain, from the fact that they themselves, while boastfully professing to send the Book of God and his salvation to Africa, withhold it as far as possible from Africans who are slaves on their own estates. They profess to send the Gospel to the world, and withhold its blessings from the inmates of their own homes. This is proof that the slavery perpetrated there is no conscientious mistake, but the deliberate nourishment of what its advocates know to be incompatible with a free and unsophisticated use of God's most Holy Word.

"American slavery is supported by means which cannot be tolerated without rebellion against the Christ of God. Witness that large and injured class of colored people, who suffer so much wrong in all the States. Whence came they? If, as it is pleaded, their mothers are *less* than human, then it is written, "He that boweth down to a beast shall surely be put to death;" if they be women, as the facts prove, then have they human rights, and the profligacy of white men which has produced their offspring is a crime that calls for judgment. Their unjust expulsion from equal priviledge in the place of prayer, is proof that this unrighteousness is known by multitudes who refuse, before God and man, the repentance, the compassion, and the redress which it demands. It is only natural that men who have enslaved their own children should, in perpetuating slavery, break all the laws and precepts of their Redeemer. By the impulse of human passions, when once defiled, sin is forced onward to perpetual increase. The wicked flee when no man pursueth, and therefore the guilty fear of slave-holders nourishes a revolting augmentation of wrongs. Covering, as with a pall, details of violence and impurity which have reached our knowledge, and which God will judge, we testify that the whipping, paddling, maiming, starving, branding, torturing, and in various ways the murdering of slaves, and the cowardly appeals to physical violence against the persons and interests of Christian men who, like their Lord, compassionate the slaves, are features in this reign of terror at which humanity itself is shocked. Instead of compromising the laws of Christ by which these sins are condemned and the perpetrators of them called to repentance or excommunication, the time and the occasion call for greater faithfulness. The kingdom of Christ and of God does not depend on gifts of money gained by processes so criminal in the South of America. We pray that brethren whose hands are clean from this iniquity may, in their love and freedom, do what they can for God; and leave the partners in this fearful crime to circulate, in their own way, their gospel according to slavery.

"Bear with us, brethren, for our pity moves not toward the slaves alone. Their pecul

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1860.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

PROSPECTS OF DISUNION.

WE appear to be on the eve of the oddest Revolution that History has yet seen. A Revolution for the greater security of Injustice, and the firmer establishment of Tyranny! And this carried on under the shows and pretences of an injured Nation rising in its might to vindicate its rights of manhood. Not a reactionary movement, such as has more than once set up again a throne that had toppled down, and brought back a discarded monarch; but a progressive one in the wrong way, set on foot for the extension and perpetuation of human bondage. It is odd in its manifestations, but as old as Cruelty and Fraud in its vital principle. The Oppressor has always been swift enough to tighten the chains and enlarge the numbers of his victims. Only it has not often happened, if ever, that he has done it in the name and on the behalf of popular Liberty. We trust that this Revolution will be permitted to go forward to the end it aims at without molestation. And we rather think it will.

We believe even the Republicans are giving South Carolina the credit of being in earnest. That her violent and noisiest spirits are so, there can be no doubt. And it is these that control the slower moving masses of intelligence and wealth. Even there, we doubt whether a majority could be found to vote for a Dissolution of the Union, if the vote could be taken with absolute secrecy, so that there should be no possibility of its being known how any particular man gave his suffrage. But as this is impossible, the violent and the noisy are sure to have their way. The rich are timid everywhere, and more so in slave countries than elsewhere; and they will either be intimidated into acquiescence, or made the subjects of confiscation and exile. It is the natural and necessary course of things. Calculation and prudence go for nothing in Revolutions. It is passion and impulse, long preparing and skilfully managed, that does the work. This movement is no new idea. It has been working in the Southern mind for lustres and years, and we do not believe, as we do not desire, that any stop or stay can be put to it.

Force is out of the question. If the South Carolina leaders will take our opinion—and it ought to be worth something, since we are by general consent the great originators of the state of things they complain of—they will discontinue their warlike preparations, and not make themselves ridiculous by their Liliputian armaments. If they are bent on going out of the Union, as we trust and believe they are, they will meet with no molestation in the process from the General Government or the North. Notwithstanding the bullyings of some Republican presses and orators, there will not be a cannon, a musket, a pistol, a squib, fired off to hinder their Exodus. The thing is an impossibility. The idea of a State being kept in the Union by main force is a political absurdity of the very first water. Such an attempt would array against it the majority of men in the Northern States themselves. All the Democrats and all the Belleverett men would, of course, be on the side of the South in any such attempt at coercion. They would manage that crisis, as they have the panic they have excited because of the election of Lincoln, for the purpose of intimidating the North into submission to the Slave Power as our master and themselves as its Satraps; while all the better part of the Republicans would take the ground *The Tribune* has assumed, of the policy, if not the abstract right, of permitting peaceable Secession to all discontented States.

But we trust and believe, also, that South Carolina will not stand alone in her Revolutionary movement. If she go, she will carry her neighbors with her. And this, though it is perfectly demonstrable that it would not promote their material interests, or even the security of their beloved institution, but quite the contrary. Revolutions are never good for trade, and are always expensive and damaging to property. Hence the mercantile classes, and the rich, are always opposed to them. They were opposed to the American Revolution, as a rule. The old families, as a general thing, were on the side of the Tories. The movement, then, as now, came largely from men having comparatively little stake in the community—many of them, no doubt, moved by high principles of duty and strong love of civil liberty, but not a few, we must fear, in the hope of the good things that might come to them out of strife and change. So it may be with North Carolina and Georgia, both of which hate South Carolina with a neighborly hatred of which we have no idea and no example at the North, and chafe at the idea of being led by her. Yet the chances are that they will be, and Louisiana, too. Texas, and Arkansas, and Alabama, are all ready, as soon as the way is cleared; and though it is of no consequence on which side Tennessee stands, it is not likely that she will stand on any side but that of slavery.

It is curious to note how exactly the same is the machinery used to get up and carry on this Revolution, with that our Fathers employed in that of '76. There has been the same prelude of long years of discontent, the same agitation of the popular passions by the press and by public speech, the same exaggeration of grievances, and the same prophecies of disgrace and ruin in case of submission. And, we are sorry to say, the parallel runs even as to the methods of intimidation used to overawe the disaffected. The mobbing of Governor Hutchinson's house, the tarring and feathering of offensive office-holders, the domiciliary visits to suspected Tories, the exile and confiscation which were threatened and enforced, were of the same *genus* as the corresponding measures of the slave States, though with milder specific differences, arising from the higher civilization of the actors in the earlier drama. But the result will be the same. All the uneasy spirits, the landless and the negroless, they who are always ready for change as one more chance for themselves—all such will be sure to be found on the Revolutionary side. The timid and timeserving, who may dread the consequences, immediate and remote, of the movement, will yield to the impulse of the more daring and imperious, as they have in all times. Some of the wealthier and more intelligent of the slaveholders may try to stem the torrent, and to keep the Ship of State at her old and safer moorings. But an example or two of lynch-law, judiciously applied, or of a timely confiscation of the estates of malignants and recusants, would soon bring about a marvellous unanimity of action.

Nor do we consider the chances of a Southern Confederation holding together so desperate as do some of our contemporaries. The two Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, had together, in 1850, about two millions and a half of white population. We apprehend they cannot fall much short of three millions now, and that is as many as the Thirteen States had in 1776. It will be frightfully expensive to carry on their government, it is true; and it will be one of the most horrible despotisms that ever blackened the earth, for the white man as well as the black. But then the Slave Governments are all that now, and the worse the new Confederacy makes the matter, the better the chance of another Revolution, which shall emancipate both white and black. A war would be ruinous to them; but then they will take care to keep out of any war with a Power stronger than themselves. As to the effect of the Secession of the Southern States upon the Northern, it would be good, good only and that continually. Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, would be all made free States by it, and the Republic of the North may indeed become the Model Republic of the World. The reptile Democracy, with its parasitic Belleverett vermin, would be trodden down into the mire to which they belong, and there would be chance of Honest Men having their own again.

THE SECESSION MOVEMENT.

THE secession movements in South Carolina and the other cotton States have presented no new phase during the last week. Southern Governors, Judges, Legislatures, public meetings and presses, rave incessantly and with Bedlamitish fury against the North, and declare that they will not submit to "Black Republican" rule, unless the free States repeal their Personal Liberty laws, and offer new guaranties for the protection and perpetuation of slavery. It is the pretty general opinion that South Carolina is determined to secede from the Union in any event, and many think that Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Florida will go with her. The secession sentiment in these States seems to overbear all opposition, though in Georgia, Alexander H. Stephens and Herschel V. Johnson—the former the ablest man in the State, and the latter the Douglas candidate for Vice-President—are exerting themselves against the measure; but even they declare that the Union cannot be preserved unless the North makes new concessions!

The Herald has a letter from Washington, from which we copy as follows:

"Accounts from the South agree that unless the North consent to repeal their Personal Liberty bills, and make an effort to destroy or punish their organized bands that are engaged in the business of running off slaves, and conveying them on their way to Canada *via* the Underground Railroad, all hope of settlement of the existing difficulties is at an end. A sentiment is entertained by prominent politicians here, those who are now identified with the Republican party, that the States of Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, and even Massachusetts, can be induced to repeal their unconstitutional Liberty bills for the sake of keeping the Union together; and as for punishing the nigger stealers, that can be done, they say, when the thieves are caught. But this is not all the South demand. They demand the right to take their slave property into the common Territories of the Union, and that Congress shall protect it there the same as it would any other private property. And a few Republicans are growing weak in the knees even on this point. Some are already willing to take the back track on their position that Congress has the right to prohibit slavery in the Territories, if the Southerners will withdraw from theirs, that it is the duty of Congress to protect slavery in those Territories. There is a bare possibility that some compromise may be offered at the approaching session of Congress with a view to harmonize these extreme interests; but I fear the period of compromises is past, and that nothing but a reconstruction of the Federal compact can save the Union from dissolution. The father of the compromise of 1850, Henry Clay, died in the room adjoining that in which I am now writing; and if his spirit could witness the feeling of intense and undisguised bitterness raging in the bosoms of Southerners against the people of the North, and could at the same time behold the condition of the Northern sentiment on the subject of slavery, as entertained in the all-powerful agricultural regions of the North, it would utter the exclamation, 'Alas! the day of compromises has indeed passed. Woe to my country!'

"Personal investigation will convince any one that the hostility of one section of the Union to the other on the momentous question of human servitude is more thorough and bitter than was ever entertained among the French and English during the devastating wars of the early periods among those two rival nations. Is it possible, then, that two peoples—for so must our countrymen be termed at this crisis—can live in the bonds of amity and peace unless there be a reconstruction of the plan of mutual government? The idea of coercion is preposterous. Eight or ten millions of free people, like those of the South, can never be coerced, and their demands for equality of rights under the present or any future Constitution are bound to be respected, or separation is the inevitable consequence."

On Saturday last, at the inauguration of a Secession Pole by the merchants of Charleston, Theodore G. Barker made a speech, which shows what sort of stuff the Southern mind is fed upon. We give an extract:

"The pervading idea of the Constitution—the essential difference of race and the imperative subjection of the black man to the white man, as the very condition of his existence among us—must be vindicated by you in your future history. It is hopeless to expect Northern acquiescence in these fundamental doctrines, so long as we remain in this Union. Wrapped in the sanctimonious folds of a self-satisfied Puritanism, backed by a foreign opinion, formed and instructed by their own brazen falsehoods, inflated with a pride of social superiority, they will never consent to receive the South, except on the bended knees of apology for her institution; and they will never willingly yield up the power of controlling this Government to their own ends. Justice and kindly feeling have wholly parted from them, and henceforth, before the world, the equality of the South, the honor and dignity of the South, is entrusted alone, under God, to the keeping of the South.

"The day of their awful retribution is at hand. See already the proud trophies of their plunder crumbling beneath the mere threat of revolution. See their forms of democracy driving onward to the license of mob-law, and their conservatism quailing before the tyranny of mere numbers. See capital hurrying home in gilded chariots, with curtains drawn, to hide its head in inner-most retreat from the ferocious demands and threats of hungry labor. See their cotton lords and merchant princes startled, in the dead watches of the night, from luxurious slumber, by the fearful cry of desperate millions demanding work—or bread—or blood! See these things, and envy Northern prosperity if you dare! In the commercial panic of 1857, where was reaction and security first found? In the South. In the dread crash of the crisis of 1861, where, in this broad land, will life be safe and property secure? I tell you only in the wide fields and among the negroes of the slaveholding States of the South. They see it—they begin to feel it—but, alas, too late, too late! They have sold their birthright for a mess of pottage—the edict has gone forth, and the avenger is already at their gates."

The "Reign of Terror" still exists in almost every portion of the slave States. Two hundred and eighteen exiles have arrived here within the last eight days from Charleston and Savannah. Most of them were steerage passengers in steamers plying between those ports and New York, and who, in violation of the Constitution, were prohibited from landing.

The following is an extract of a letter from New Orleans to *The Tribune:*

"The mere rumor of a man's having views favorable to the Lincoln Administration is enough to stamp him as an Abolitionist. A man by the name of William Strought was arrested yesterday, Nov. 15, and arraigned before Recorder Long. The accused was a stevedore, and had been residing in this city for several years past. He got talking politics in a public place to a crowd of listeners, and gave his opinion with considerable bravado, "that even here in Louisiana, a negro had as good a right to vote as a white man." This impudent assertion threw the crowd into a state of violent excitement. He was knocked down and trampled upon, amid cries of "Hang him!" "Hang him!" Somebody procured a rope, which was thrown over a lamp post, and Mr. Strought would have finished his earthly career in a rather ignominious manner, if several policemen had not appeared and rescued him from the crowd. Upon hearing of his arrest, several of his friends came to give bail for him, but declined doing so when they heard what sentiments he had expressed. The case was postponed, and it is said that the more serious charge of tampering with slaves will be brought against him."

The same correspondent gives an account of a public meeting held in New Orleans, at which Dr. Bard was one of the speakers.

"Dr. Bard commenced by saying that the time had come when all true Southern men should speak out, and that those who would wait for some new act of aggression from the North, had not true Southern blood in their veins, and that two-thirds of them were not born on Southern soil. He said that Mr. Lincoln was a talented, shrewd, calculating, fanatical lawyer, and that he was chosen by the Black Republican party because he *was* fanatical, and had learned that difficult task of holding his tongue. That his Administration would keep the South quiet until they could fasten their iron bands more securely around the sinews of the Southern people, and that for these reasons he was to be more feared than if Seward had been elected to the Presidential chair. If, said he, *hell* had taken an emetic, it could not have vomited forth worse characters than Seward, Horace Greeley and Wendell Phillips; and if there are any persons in this room who are writing for Northern papers, let them put that in their pipe and smoke it. He urged at some length the necessity of immediate separation, and said that, as sure as there is a God in heaven, if Louisiana did not secede, he would move to the gallant little State of South Carolina. His speech was received with the greatest applause."

Such is the temper of the South—such her menaces and threats. What is likely to be the effect of it all upon the North? We confess our fears that she will yield all the moral advantage she has apparently gained in the election of Lincoln, and once more try the mad experiment of compromise. Look at the articles from Republican papers in our Pro-Slavery Department this week, and especially at the proposal of the Albany *Evening Journal* (a paper supposed to reflect the views of Senator Seward), *to restore the Missouri Compromise line*, and amend the Fugitive Slave law, by removing its "vindictive"(!) features, arming the Federal authorities with all needful power for its execution, and making counties, where fugitives are rescued by violence from officers who have them in charge, liable for the value of the slaves so rescued! The man who could make such a proposition at this time is a base traitor to liberty. Let the political tricksters who stand ready to purchase office and power by such means beware! The Anti-Slavery Movement has a power which they, in their blindness, knew not how to measure; and which, if they attempt to thwart it, may grind them to powder!

REPUBLICAN PROJECT OF COMPROMISE!

Special Despatch to the N. Y. Times.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, Nov. 27.

Several leading Republicans are now here, and consultations have been held with several prominent Southern men as to the best remedy, if any, for the dangers which threaten the country. One proposition, which seemed to meet with favor among the Republicans, was that Mr. Lincoln should disarm secession on account of his election, by announcing his cabinet so soon as the electoral vote shall have been cast. It is suggested that this would furnish the conservative men of the South with an effective weapon for the Union, provided the list included three men from the South who command the confidence of the whole country, for instance, such men as Scott of Virginia, Graham of North Carolina, and Sharkie of Mississippi. It is believed that Mr. Lincoln will be perfectly willing to do this, though unusual, if it would pour oil on the troubled waters.

It is also said that on Tuesday and Wednesday of next week an influential member of the Republican party will offer resolutions in Congress declaring the rights of the several States in terms which must be satisfactory to every Union-loving man in the South, with the emphatic declaration that this bill of rights the Republican party is willing to embody in the Constitution. Should this be done, all excitement, it is believed, will subside in forty-eight hours, and reason will resume her sway, to the chagrin and mortification of those who have labored so long and so earnestly to break up the Confederacy.

It is certain that the Republican party, so far as it is represented by those who have arrived in Washington, is entirely willing, not only to do full justice to the South, but to give every constitutional guaranty to the same. If disunion must come, it appears that the South will be made to shoulder the responsibility. Strong hopes are expressed to-day, that by some prompt action next week, and by an announcement of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet prior to the assembling of the South Carolina Convention, the Union will yet be saved.

THE CHURCH OF THE PURITANS AND ITS ENEMIES.

REPLY TO THE PROTEST AGAINST THE APPEAL FOR FOREIGN AID.

To the Christian Churches of Great Britain.

DEAR BRETHREN: A Protest has lately been published as an advertisement in some of the British papers against the appeal for aid made by the Church of the Puritans and its Pastor to you, in their conflict with the Slave Power. It is signed by forty-four gentlemen who declare themselves to be members of the Church or Society. For this extraordinary document eight reasons are assigned.

1. "The Appeal was first made by a few individuals without the knowledge of the Church or Society." We reply that the Church and Society, after hearing a statement of their reasons, not only exonerated them from censure, but fully justified their course, and endorsed the Appeal. At a meeting of the Church held in November, 1859, the following resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas, neither the Church, as a body, nor the majority of its members, nor the Trustees of the Society, were consulted previous to application made in March last by certain brethren of the Church to British Christians for pecuniary aid, it is manifest that none can be held responsible for the matter or the manner of that appeal but the individuals who made it, and who are now quite willing to bear that responsibility; but whereas some of the wealthiest men of the Church and others have entirely withdrawn their support from the ordinary expenses of the Society, while some of the trustees, men of ability and sagacity, now openly declare their opinion that the Church and Society cannot be sustained: Resolved, That we, the Church of the Puritans, assembled for this purpose by public notice from the pulpit, do hereby declare our full conviction of the propriety and necessity of such appeal for external aid. Resolved, That the document read to this Church, signed by the brethren who authorized that appeal to British Christians for pecuniary aid, entirely exonerates those brethren from all blame in the premises, and is hereby declared to be the deliberate judgment of this Church as to the present condition of the Society, and a truthful statement of the several steps by which that condition has been reached. Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions, with the document above named, be forwarded to the Rev. Dr. Candlish of Edinburgh, and the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon of London.

(Signed) "BENJ. K. PHELPS, Clerk of the Church."

The action of the Society, though less direct and positive, has been sufficiently explicit. The Treasurer, in his Annual Report, presented to the meeting in March last, referred in terms of condemnation to the Appeal for foreign aid. The Society, by a decided majority, *ordered that portion of the Report to be expunged.* Subsequently a series of meetings was held, at the instance of the opponents of the measure, in which all the facts and principles involved in it were thoroughly discussed. At the termination of the debate, resolutions proposed in favor of the Appeal would have been carried by a large majority, but a dispute arising respecting the qualification of voters, a motion was made to adjourn for six months and passed almost unanimously. We do not deem it necessary to specify here the reasons which induced the authors of the Appeal to proceed, at the outset, upon their own responsibility, inasmuch as a full explanation was given upon that point in a statement drawn up by them, and published a year ago both in this country and in Great Britain. We cannot, however, refrain from saying that if their action, undertaken to promote the highest interests of the Church by sustaining a ministry inexpressibly dear to its heart, and in the full confidence that it would, when made known, receive its cordial approval, be indeed, as is charged, "a usurpation of the rights of their brethren, and subversive of the principles of a Congregational body," what shall be said of the act of these Protesters in publicly repudiating a measure which had been formally adopted by the Church, and meeting their pastor in a foreign land, at the moment he is about to engage in an effort for its successful accomplishment, with a document representing him as a man laboring under a most deplorable hallucination, or wickedly seeking money under false pretences?

2. The authors of the Appeal are charged by the Protesters with the design of changing the character of our organization. The original object of the measure was simply to protect the Church against the starvation process adopted by some of its wealthy and influential members. In a paper subsequently prepared and adopted by the Church, the sum of $50,000 is specified as desirable "in order to meet an annual ground rent of $1,500, and place our citadel as near as possible upon the foundation of a free Church." But even if we could succeed in obtaining a sufficient endowment to secure a full proclamation of the gospel to rich and poor, saint and sinner, slave-master and Abolitionist, without money and without price, we cannot perceive what reasonable objection could be made to its acceptance, or how the "expensiveness of our location," could, under such circumstances, render the adoption of a free basis "an uncertain experiment." It is obvious, however, that in no case whatever could an essential change be effected in the character of our organization without the full consent and concurrence of the Church or Society. And it is equally plain that they have an undoubted right to make whatever alteration they please within the limits of civil and ecclesiastical law, while no man or body of men has the slightest authority to protest to the public at home or abroad against their decisions, either before or after they are made.

3. The Protesters declare that they oppose the Appeal on account of the strifes and divisions which have resulted therefrom. We affirm that the Appeal is not the cause of those strifes and divisions. We affirm that at a meeting of the Board of Trustees in December, 1858, a plan was developed to withhold the supplies, in order to drive Dr. Cheever ignominiously from his pulpit. We affirm that the Appeal to the British Churches was the necessary result of that plan; and that, inasmuch as the enemies of the pastor saw that its success would inevitably insure their defeat, and that in consequence of the general prejudice against foreign interference, it would afford them an admirable pretext for concealing their real design, they set themselves to work with all their might to oppose and denounce it. And when, in spite of all their efforts, the Church stood firm, and gave its solemn sanction to the measure, instead of submitting or quietly withdrawing, they appealed to the Society, and sought thus to bring a pressure from without to bear upon the Church, in utter violation and contempt of its spiritual independence.

In pursuance of this disorderly and rebellious course, they carried the controversy into the Annual Meeting for the election of Trustees, and formed a party to appoint to that office men who were opposed to the Appeal, and to the earnest and persistent efforts of the pastor for the immediate and entire abolition of slavery. The law requires that two Deacons shall preside at an election of this nature, to determine the qualification of voters, and to give certificates to the successful candidates. On this occasion the choice fell upon two members of their own party. The Treasurer of the Society stood at the table to challenge the votes of those who, if disqualified at all, had become so only because their bills *had not been presented.* Notwithstanding, the friends of the pastor prevailed. The judges declared that a majority of the votes were cast for them, and that they were therefore duly elected. And yet these Deacons, "acting in the fear of God and upon their consciences," did subsequently enter into a secret and *ex parte* examination of the votes; did presume to determine that six of the voters whom they themselves, after due scrutiny, had allowed to vote, had no legal right to do so, and this without summoning them to appear and give testimony under oath or otherwise; and, more marvellous still, did undertake to say for whom they voted, though their ballots were folded and unendorsed. And then these Deacons, "acting in the fear of God and upon their consciences," did formally and solemnly certify the election of candidates *who were not elected.* The gentlemen who were thus defrauded of a legal evidence of their election were compelled by their duty to the Society, and to the great cause for which they are contending, to apply to the Courts for redress. In their complaint they state the offence of the Deacons, and draw from it the necessary moral and legal inferences with regard to their motives. They have simply acted upon the infallible rule, "by their *fruits* ye shall know them." Since the publication of the Protest, they have succeeded in procuring a peremptory mandamus ordering the Deacons to give the certificates which they had wrongfully withheld. We shall close our remarks on this point with two quotations from the opinions of the Judges of the Supreme Court before whom the cause was brought. Justice Mullin says:

"It cannot be possible that the Legislature intended that these Inspectors should receive votes without challenge or in defiance of a challenge; and, after the election is ended, enter into an examination of the qualification of the voters, and count or reject votes as they shall then determine on the question of qualification. How are they, in that stage of the business, to ascertain which of the ballots to withdraw from the box and reject? Inspectors cannot be presumed to know the contents of the ballot. How, then, are they to separate the legal from the illegal—the votes of those qualified from the votes of those disqualified? The very statement of the proposition that such a power exists excites surprise and alarm. It needs no argument to show how dangerous and how corrupt such a power in the hands of any class of men, however respectable, would become. The act of the Inspectors in rejecting six of the plaintiffs' votes as illegal, after the same had been received and deposited in the box, was wholly unauthorized."

The opinion of Justice Ingraham is equally clear and decided. He says:

"It would be idle to attempt to conduct any election by ballot, if, after the election was closed, the Inspectors could, when they ascertained who had the greatest number of votes, institute an inquiry whether any of those who voted for the successful party were legal voters, and in this way change the result of the election. If such a course could be declared legal, there would be few elections at the present day which might not be affected by such a proceeding. The mere statement of the proposition carries its answer on the face of it."

4. The Protesters say that they oppose the Appeal because they are not paupers; but that, as members of the Church and Society, they are both able and willing to pay their due proportion of the necessary expenses. Answer: The ability of the Protesters has never been called in question. But we utterly deny their willingness to support the Church and Society, as at present constituted, with Dr. Cheever as their pastor. A large proportion of them do not here hesitate to proclaim their anxiety for his removal. Some of them, also, who were members of the Board of Trustees, proposed to alter the title deeds of pew owners, so as to annul their obligation to pay taxes. The Form of Deed assigns and conveys a pew to a purchaser upon the following condition, among others, namely:

"But if the said —— or heirs shall neglect to pay the said assessments, and whatever further sums shall be assessed as aforesaid, and by such neglect cause an arrearage of one year, the same shall be demanded by the Treasurer for the time being; and in case of denial on such demand, or neglect of payment three months after such demand, it shall then be lawful for the Trustees of said Society for the time being, or a majority of them, to sell the said pew at public auction to the highest bidder, upon the conditions specified in this instrument, and deduct out of the money arising from such sale whatever arrearages shall be due on account of the said pew and expenses of sale, paying the remainder to the said —— or heirs if demanded."

This portion of the deed they resolved to expunge. A number of pew owners who had left the Society, as well as some who were still connected with it, were bitterly opposed to the ministrations and course of Dr. Cheever, on the subject of slavery; and the object of the device was to enable them to retain their hold on the property of the Church without the necessity of contributing to its support, in the hope that they might ultimately succeed in obtaining full possession and control. The Society, however, at its annual meeting, indignantly rebuked them, and passed the following resolution:

"Whereas, it has officially come before us, that a majority of the Board of Trustees, at their regular meeting Saturday evening last, against the protest of two members of their Board, passed an act annulling one of the conditions of the title deeds of pew owners in the edifice known as the Church of the Puritans, without the advice or instruction of the Society, and ordered their President to enter such annulling act on the title deeds of all such as might desire it: therefore, Resolved, By this Society, that it declares its entire disapproval of said act of the Board of Trustees as unauthorized and wrong, and adverse to the best interests of the Society; and that this Society hereby forbids the President of the Board of Trustees from compliance with the said act."

We are not yet aware of the result of this prohibition. For although the gentleman who, at that time, officiated both as President and Treasurer, has been legally removed from office for more than seven months, he has persisted in retaining the books and papers which he then held, and only now promises to surrender them under the threat of a summary process from the Supreme Court. But whatever action they may have taken with regard to this matter, neither they nor their friends were deterred from other offences highly discreditable to a Christian profession. For, soon afterwards, a number of them gave up their pews, and occupied single sittings near the door, or in the gallery, in order to diminish our revenues, and otherwise injure and embarrass us. The declaration, therefore, that they are willing to pay their proportion of the expenses, is jesuitical and fallacious. It is calculated to produce a false impression. The British Churches have no special interest in the Church of the Puritans, apart from Dr. Cheever and his ministry on the subject of slavery. When the Protesters, then, declare to them that they are willing to support their Church, and yet omit to state the essential condition that Dr. Cheever shall resign his pastorate, they are guilty of a gross and palpable deception.

5. The Protesters object to the Appeal because its authors declare that if a fund be realized it is not to be committed to the Society or Church, but is to be held by a self-constituted Committee. Answer: It is a remarkable fact that *The Independent*, which may justly be regarded as the organ of the Protesters, in its famous attack upon Dr. Cheever on the eve of his departure for Europe, represented our organization as a chaotic *émeute*, utterly unworthy of credit, and strenuously advised the British people, on this very ground, to withhold their donations from its custody. The authors of the Appeal, profoundly sensible of the injustice of this representation, and entertaining the fullest confidence both in the Church and Society, have, nevertheless, always considered it expedient, that a fund raised for the purpose of sustaining the ministry of Dr. Cheever should be entrusted to him and a Committee chosen by him. The Protesters have no need to be alarmed at this arrangement. For if, with their wealth, aided by all the resources of the Slave Power, they have not been able to control their poorer brethren, we are assured that they themselves need not fear the pressure of any monetary power that may be brought to bear upon them. Were there no other reason for their removal, we would counsel them to remain in peace in the "home" to which they cling so tenaciously, and for which they seem to cherish a love so ardent and a veneration so profound.

6. The Protesters complain that this Appeal is made a test of anti-slavery. We reply, that without this Appeal it would be utterly impossible to sustain Dr. Cheever in the citadel on Union square. If any man be so blind that he cannot see the importance of this object, it is bootless to discuss it. Dr. Cheever is unquestionably the foremost champion in the great conflict between the American Church and the Slave Power. His Church has justly been designated the Malakoff of the fight. As well might you pretend to be a friend of Italian liberty, and at the same time insist upon the deposition and banishment of Garibaldi, as to profess to be in favor of the abolition of slavery, while you labor to remove from his pulpit the pastor of the Church of the Puritans.

7. The Protesters say that they oppose this Appeal because they believe that the prosecution of it is directly injurious to the anti-slavery cause among us. Answer: It would do no harm if they would withdraw their opposition. We know of no divisions which have arisen of late years that have not had their origin in our battle with the Slave Power. If others have existed, why do not our opponents state them? For ourselves, we solemnly declare that whatever personal antipathies they may cherish, or whatever quarrels they may be engaged in, we have no controversy with any man in the Church or Society apart from the subject of slavery.

8. The Protesters object to the Appeal because they cannot believe it to be right for a community which does not understand our case to volunteer to settle, by the arbitration of money, a question which the parties interested have not mutually submitted to such arbitration. We reply, that the parties interested are the Church and Society. Both are decidedly in favor of the Appeal. The Protesters are a factious and schismatic minority, who ought long since to have desisted from their opposition or withdrawn. They attempted to remove the pastor by the arbitration of the money power. They should not complain if, in order to retain him, we have followed their example.

Finally, we ask you, Pastors and Churches, to "make our cause your own." We have been engaged for several years in a terrible conflict with an organized and gigantic system of iniquity. At every step we have been compelled to fight hand to hand with foes without and foes within. But hitherto the Lord hath helped us. We have sent our beloved pastor to lay before you the history of our struggles and trials, and to plead the cause of the slave. We thank you from our hearts for the cordial welcome which you have given him, and most fervently pray that God will impart to him grace and strength so to proclaim the truth on this great subject that a deep and permanent sympathy will be awakened throughout the British Churches, and a testimony evoked which will startle the American Church from its mysterious and fatal lethargy.

(Signed)

DEXTER FAIRBANK, President of the Board of Trustees, and Member of the Prudential Committee.
HENRY A. HARTT, M.D., Treasurer of the Board of Trustees, and Member of the Prudential Committee.
EDWARD GILBERT, Secretary of the Board of Trustees, and Clerk of the Church.
WM. G. WHITING, Member of the Board of Trustees, and of the Prudential Committee.
HENRY ABELL, Member of the Board of Trustees.
KENNYON COX, Member of the Board of Trustees.
EDWIN FERRIS, Member of the Board of Trustees.
THOS. J. HALL, Member of the Board of Trustees.
C. J. WARREN, Chairman of the Prudential Committee.
S. R. DAVIS, Member of the Prudential Committee.
EDWIN WEST, M.D., Deacon and Member of the Prudential Committee.
JOSEPH S. HOLT, Deacon and Member of the Prudential Committee.
A. C. SEMPLE, Deacon and Member of the Prudential Committee.

Wm. D. Chase,	Caroline Marcher,
M. S. Hall,	Ogden Seelye,
W. J. Demorest,	G. M. Warren.
Geo. F. Cook,	Lucius A. Bacon,
G. W. Embree,	John Holland,
Wm. P. Halsted,	Martha M. Loines,
A. N. Beale,	James Cowell,
E. K. Murray,	Catharine Cowell,
W. Herries,	H. H. Whittemore,
E. Waterbury,	Emma F. Halsted,
Samuel Hutchins,	Elizabeth Griffiths,
J. R. Davis,	Margaret Rich,
Smith Curtis,	Susan M. Ball,
Eli M. Merrill,	Mary W. West,
Thos. Warrener,	Edward L. Halsted,
M. P. Cooke,	M. A. Hussey,
Wm. Macnab,	A. B. Macy,
Robt. B. Sutton,	Thos. Shearman,
L. B. Corey,	Harvey J. Rich,
Joseph R. Merrill,	Harriet C. Hinsdale,
Dan'l Ward,	John Adair,
Wm. Erving,	Wm. D. Conger,
David Plumb,	A. E. Waterbury,
E. L. Demorest,	Mary E. Roach,
Nelson R. Scovil,	E. A. McGee,
J. Hartt,	Mary Waterbury,
L. Spring,	Mary A. Hawkins,
Amos A. McGee,	Emma Marcher,
A. S. Cox,	Elbert K. Hinsdale,
G. K. Hyde,	Sarah A. Coursen,
J. Erving,	C. Macy,
Robt. L. Darragh,	M. R. Herries,
Henry L. B. Hartt,	John Burton,
Henry C. Chamberlain,	M. M. Hussey,
J. F. Whipple,	Helen A. Cook,
S. A. Whipple,	L. Waterbury,
Stephen H. Thayer,	P. A. McGee,
Theodore D. Warren,	J. A. Cole,
Mary Augusta Warren,	Emma F. Cole,
J. M. Hartt,	E. Shearman,
Mrs. Waterbury,	Helen A. Rich,
S. M. Jones,	C. C. Smith,
J. McGee,	M. M. Curtis,
Joseph Wheeler,	L. H. Dinsmore,
Wm. S. Cooper,	M. S. Dinsmore,
M. A. Hall,	L. N. Lovell,
P. C. Hartough,	R. B. Dwight,
Daniel Cole,	B. C. Lefler,
Phebe Carey,	L. M. Taylor,
Mary Lennox,	S. R. Clark,
J. Norton,	M. E. H. Gilbert,
Sidney D. Jennings,	John Shanks, M.D.
Henry Shepherd,	Jane Macnab,
Philo Cole,	George E. Hall,
Mrs. Cole,	M. S. Hall,
Wm. H. Jennings,	Thos. H. Curtis,
S. A. Sexton,	Franklin Ferris,
E. C. Cooper,	C. J. Ferris,
Mary S. Cooper,	M. Shanks,
R. P. Penfield,	John Prentice,
M. A. Whittemore,	Mary L. Dwight,
Silas Lounsberry,	Richard Martin,
R. A. Williams,	E. W. Hyatt,
R. H. Macy,	Eliza Shanks,
Wm. Lambert,	A. C. Smith,
M. Lambert,	P. H. Norris,
Wm A. Ward,	Mary Hogan,
Israel Jarvis,	M. H. Shanks,
M. G. Whittemore,	S. Goldie,
S. F. Martin,	Henry B. Hall,
David Griffiths,	Barbara B. Prentice,
Mary A. Halsted,	George A. Blakely,
C. W. Hawkins,	Emma Shanks,
A. B. Washburn,	Thaddeus Hyatt.

The above are the signatures of *bona fide* members of the Church or Society. Several of those who affixed their names to the Protest were not properly connected either with the one or the other. Since the reply was prepared the books of the Society have been delivered up by the ex-president and treasurer. The following extracts from records gratuitously made by him since the 7th April last, when his term of office expired, will show in a clear light the *animus* of the Protesters:

1. "1806, May 14th, received from L. N. Cowley . . $1 50"

This gentleman is one of the original seceders who addressed a letter to Dr. Cheever in April 1857, requesting him to resign his pastorate, and whose names, after much altercation, and many preliminaries, were finally erased from the roll of the Church. The sum appears to be an annual subscription designed to qualify him to vote at the meetings of the Society.

2. "1860, May 16th, received from W. H. Smith $5 00

"	"	"	" Julius Catlin 7 50
April 26th,	"	"	" D. C. Hall 10 00
May 8th,	"	"	" Z. N. Bradbury. 5 00
Oct. 20th,	"	"	" Sm'l Ainsworth. 5 00
Nov. 1st,	"	"	" E. W. Chester . . . 1 50
"	"	"	" G. F. Chester 1 50
"	"	"	" T. D. Sherwood . . 1 50
"	"	"	" N. Chamberlain. 1 50
"	"	"	" S. D. Bonfils 2 00
"	"	"	" L. B. Nutting . . . 1 50
"	"	"	" J. J. Aberfiethy. 3 00
"	"	"	" Hor. Southmayd 1 50
"	"	"	" S. C. Southmayd 1 50
"	"	"	" Albt. Southmayd 1 50
"	"	"	" M. A. Stevens . . 1 50
"	"	"	" Thos. E. Porter . . 5 00
"	"	"	" Fred. De Forrest 1 50
"	"	"	" L. D. F. Woodruff 1 50
"	"	"	" J. D. Platt 1 50

60 50"

The names of the following gentlemen, though they appear in the Protest, are not found on this record. As they have paid nothing to the legal officers of the Society, they have not contributed at all:

C. R. Harvey.	C. B. Tompkins.
John J. Hull.	Joseph H. Dye.
George H. White.	David B. Scott.
James J. Hull.	

Here, then, are twenty-seven of the forty-four Protesters, with their subscriptions for the support of the Church during the current year, amounting in all to the munificent sum of sixty dollars and fifty cents; and yet they have affixed their signatures to a document which indignantly declares, "We are not paupers. *We are both able and willing* to pay our due proportion of the expenses of our Church and Society."

Two of the remaining Protesters, Thos. Rigney and Wm. Henry Smith, have united with A. T. Moore (all merchants, and one of them reputed wealthy), and taken one pew with only five sittings for *themselves and their families.*

3. "1860, May 1st, paid to John J. Hull $12 50

June 4th,	"	"	" 12 50
July 17th,	"	"	" 12 50
Aug. 1st,	"	"	" 12 50
Sept. 3d,	"	"	" . . . . .

motion of the desired reform, till their convictions become the convictions of the majority, when the reins of government will pass peacefully into their hands, and they assume the responsibility of its administration. Thus peacefully passed away the old government under which the then British colonies first united, and became a distinct and independent nation; and thus, I venture to predict, will peacefully pass away that infamous pro-slavery interpretation of the Constitution, which virtually stigmatizes our Revolutionary Fathers as traitors to their public pledges and their country's freedom, far meaner and more inexcusable than is he, the perjured parricide of a young Republic, who now sways, by his despotic will, the destinies of the bravest and most polished nation of Continental Europe.

Whatever, therefore, may be our views of the Constitution, the way for a consistent course of anti-slavery political action is amply provided in our American theory of constitutional obligation, and is abundantly sanctioned by a long line of unmistakable precedents, both State and National. Thus is disunion relieved of the specious pretext of a want of political power over the institution of slavery, and the personal responsibility on the part of Northern voters for its existence, so long as the Union lasts.

Nor need we share Mr. Garrison's apprehensions of the frightful consequences which would follow the possible triumph of the policy here indicated. The recent scene at Harper's Ferry ought to satisfy the most timid that no slave State will ever flout its banner in the face of an anti-slavery National Administration.

It is also claimed by the advocates of disunion that it would increase the facilities for the escape of slaves; and this is doubtless true to a limited extent. But no scheme of colonization upon an extensive scale can hope to succeed, whether adopted by pro-slavery men in support of the system, or by Abolitionists for its overthrow.

Besides, it is not liberty in a foreign land that the slave asks, and has a right to ask, at our hands; but liberty on the soil which gave him birth, which he has watered with his tears and enriched with his blood. Garrison abolition demands "emancipation without expatriation."

There are those among us whose hopes of emancipation centre in insurrection; and such, believing in the essential weakness of the South, may well hail any indications of a national disrupture as a bright bow of promise. But why any one who depends upon moral power alone for the abolition of slavery, or upon that power aided by the strong arm of a well administered government, should desire to interpose between himself and those whom he seeks to influence the barriers of separate and hostile nationalities, is a mystery which I cannot fathom.

To any but the advocates of insurrection, I can see in a Northern secession nothing but discouragement and disaster. From the nature of the case, the North can never secede from motives of interest in the liberties of the slaves. Should she ever become sufficiently reformed to take any efficient action in their behalf, the power is in her hands to establish their freedom at a much less cost than the sacrifice of the Union. Whatever may be the letter or the intentions of the Constitution in regard to slavery, the whole country, South as well as North, as I have already intimated, has repeatedly recognized a principle of interpretation which warrants the general government in setting aside any specific provisions of that instrument in its behalf, whenever, in the opinion of the majority, the public good clearly demands such a step.

We have illustrations of this principle in the purchase of Louisiana, and the annexation of Texas; and in our own State, in the original adoption of the United States Constitution, an act clearly and pointedly prohibited by our own State Constitution. The people have always had the good sense to see that they were masters of their own Constitution, and have always used it to accomplish their own highest ideas of the public welfare.

Guided by this principle, if upon no other ground, the majority at the North, acting in concert with a minority at the South, might and would at once set free all our slaves, if there were not wanting the disposition to do it.

Hence, if Mr. Garrison's confidently predicted "Northern secession" should actually occur, it would necessarily proceed from hatred of the master, and not from love of the slave; and consequently, would be sure to result in national animosities which would paralize the influence of Northern Abolitionists, and confirm the South in an invincible purpose to uphold her infamous system to the last. Without regard, therefore, to the Constitution, I am now, as I ever have been, opposed to a Northern secession as alike unwarranted either by the principles of sound morality, or an enlightened public policy.

If we cannot conscientiously act politically under the Constitution, let us act outside of it; if revolution be necessary, whether peaceful or bloody, *let it come: but let us never voluntarily cease to be the fellow-countrymen of our enslaved brethren till their chains are stricken off, and their liberty and rights are as fully conceded and as firmly established as our own.*

S. S. FOSTER.

KIDNAPPING IN NEW YORK.

A COLORED man, named John Thomas, legally free, was kidnapped in this city on Tuesday last, and carried off to the South as a slave. The circumstances are thus related in *The Tribune*:

"John Thomas, a colored man, recently owned by a Mr. Winter of Louisville, Ky., was sent by his master to an agent in Evansville, Ind., by whom he was shipped as a steward on a boat plying up and down the Ohio, his wages inuring to the benefit of Winter. John Thomas, tiring of his task, betook himself to Canada, and thence came to New York, where he engaged with Mr. Vail, in Broadway, as porter, serving him for some months. On Monday night, by some unexplained means, John Thomas was taken into the Grand Jury room in Chambers street, by some unknown personage. He managed to let Mr. Vail know his whereabouts, and on Tuesday that gentleman saw him there in the custody of some one, who exhibited a power of attorney from Winter to recover and return the fugacious John Thomas. Mr. Vail got a writ of *habeas corpus*, which Marshal Rynders responded to by producing in court the body of a John Thomas, a colored man. This J. T., however, was another person, who had been in jail as a witness in a murder case since March last. The Judge decided that the writ was satisfied. Meanwhile, Mr. Winter's John Thomas was far on his way to Louisville."

The following is the report of the proceedings on the *habeas corpus* before Judge Mullin:

"Mr. Vail went to the place designated by John Thomas (the United States Grand Jury Room in Chambers street). It appears that John had contrived to notify Mr. Vail by dropping a note from the window on Reade street, telling a boy where to take it.

Upon Mr. Vail's arrival he found John in charge of a person, but whether he was a Marshal's assistant or not is not known. Another person was in the room, and he showed Mr. Vail a power of attorney duly executed in Louisville, and authorizing him to act in behalf of Mr. Winter, the master. John begged his employer to endeavor to purchase him, and, with the hope of gaining time, Mr. Vail consented. A writ of *habeas corpus* was obtained from Judge Ingraham, sitting at the Supreme Court Chambers, and it was served upon Marshal Rynders.

This morning, Nov. 21st, that officer appeared before Judge Mullin, and said that he was ready to make a return to a writ of *habeas corpus*, issued to him, and in accordance with its directions, he had brought with him the person named in the writ (pointing to a colored man in the rear of the court-room).

A young gentleman from Capron & Lake's office, appeared as representing the interest of John Thomas. He stated that the return was unsatisfactory, inasmuch as the person produced here was not the one mentioned in the petition—it was a different person altogether.

Marshal Rynders—His name is John Thomas, and he is in my custody.

The counsel replied that the coincidence was extraordinary as well as convenient, but the person sought had not been produced.

Marshal Rynders—I have no other man by that name in my custody.

Judge Mullin—Then, sir, you will have to make a return to that effect.

Marshal Rynders—I have so stated.

Judge Mullin—It is a right that the return should be made in writing.

Deputy-Marshal Thompson then made the required addition to the return.

The return being satisfactory, the counsel could not press the matter further, and the parties left the court-room.

Our reporter went to the United States District Attorney's office, and learned that a man named John Thomas (colored) was imprisoned as a witness against a man named Harris, who had been arrested for murder, committed on the high seas, on board the bark Anna. This man has been in custody since the 20th of March last, and he was committed under the name above mentioned. Mr. Vail is so positive in his statement regarding his conversation with the other John Thomas, that there is little room to doubt that that person was confined there—whether by the Marshal or some other person, is not known—and that he was taken away between the time of that conversation and the serving of the writ.

The day following these proceedings, a despatch from Richmond announced the arrival in that city of the fugitive John Thomas, in the custody of two of Marshal Rynders's deputies. He was put in prison to await the orders of his master at St. Louis. It is said, we presume with truth, that he was carried off without any legal process whatever. Having been sent to a free State by his master, he was not a fugitive from service according to the provision of the United States Constitution; and if his case had been brought before a commissioner, and properly argued, he must have been discharged as a free man. It is a clear case of kidnapping, but we doubt very much whether the kidnappers will ever be brought to justice.

Our European Correspondence.

LETTERS FROM HARRIET MARTINEAU....XLIII.

November 5th, 1860.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SIR: We are expecting to hear to-day of the arrival of the Prince of Wales. Possibly he may at this moment be by his mother's side, telling her his adventures. Whatever the political choice of your fellow-citizens may be in this all-important election of 1860, we English believe that the present year will introduce a new period in our intercourse with your country. If you should have a President whom we can respect, and whose views of liberty and order agree with ours better than those of recent Presidents, we may hope that much will be done by the two countries for the interests of freedom everywhere, and that there will be an end of the bickering between Washington and London, which is as mischievous as it is disagreeable. But, if you should ever have a Breckinridge government at Washington, or be disgraced by the cowardly hypocrisy of a ruling Union party, matters would still not be so bad as if your country had not been so gloriously hospitable to the Prince, and he and his family and nation so delighted at your kindness to him. In him, in short, the two peoples have met, and they respect and sympathize with each other more than they ever did before. If you could but choose rulers worthy to represent you, and free to cooperate with us for the liberty and welfare of the world, there might now be such a friendship between the two countries as has never before been seen between allies. The great struggle for the establishment of political liberty, or for a further lease of power to despotic governments, marks the time in which we live; and if your rulers were free and bold to bear testimony, without fear of reproach for slavery and disorder at home, there is nothing that our united moral forces might not achieve.

In cordial union, you and we might soon bring about the abolition of slavery in Cuba, and of the slave trade in Africa, and infuse a strength into all liberal elements in European countries which would secure the victory to the right. We do not suppose that any one man can be equal to the occasion; nor do we see how Mr. Lincoln can have been prepared for such a post at such a time; but, if he becomes your President, it will singularly deepen our future King's interest in your country, that public opinion turned into the right course while he was among you, and, we might say, under his very eyes. It must make a great difference hereafter, and even from this time forward, that the heir and the advisers of the crown have obtained a personal knowledge of the difficulty and anxiety of your crisis. The Queen and the Ministers know more and feel more than they did; and, on your side, there may, perhaps, be some modification of the popular view of a limited monarchy and an ancient aristocracy. It may, perhaps, be more conceivable than it was that the practical liberties of English people are in no way interfered with by either the sovereign or the peers, while, on the other hand, those liberties are better guarded by the three powers of the State than they could possibly be by the House of Commons alone. It may be more conceivable than it was, why we believe ourselves to be the more free, and not the less, for having a sovereign and an aristocracy, under constitutional conditions. We hope you have not spoiled our young Prince. Such a reception is, to be sure, enough to turn any head. He is very ingenuous, and not at all vain; and he is quite ready to attribute the homage to anything rather than his own merits or claims; but still, it must be rather difficult to subside into the Cambridge student after such an excursion as he has had. No doubt he will resume his domestic position with the best grace; but if he should be able to command his thoughts for study at college, after the crowd of images presented to them within six months, he must be the most wonderful youth of nineteen ever known among our princes. Sir Henry Holland says the visit to Washington's tomb was really very touching; but I should think it must have been still more impressive to see the last survivor from Bunker Hill. Was there ever before such evidence of how a great State may grow up, from its growth being confided to nature—that is, the mind of the citizens!

If Mr. Lincoln is your President, it will be very interesting to us to observe how the people who elect him, and the Abolitionists proper, get on. I do not suppose that there will be any strong temptation to Abolitionists to turn politicians from anything to be seen at Washington; but it would be a great thing for liberty, at home and abroad, if the less advanced should be found capable of the friendship of the leaders in the cause. No public attains its full stature all at once; the ability to grow is the main point; and I trust there may be much sympathy and cooperation between men of very different degrees of advancement, when once they are sure that their faces are turned the same way. The period of almost hopeless antagonism is fairly closed for the Abolitionists. Their duty is daily less that of conflict, and more that of leading, instructing and encouraging. Much as yet remains to be done, it is a happier task than the old one. It is a regular stage in the process of that emancipation of white and black which all know to be inevitable; and I, for one, am happy to have lived to see it; and now, the thing to be desired is, that the Abolitionists may gloriously and beneficently discharge their mission, by fanning the flame wherever it kindles, instead of despising it as less bright than their own, and lending a hand freely and generously to all who desire to come up to the front. We hope to see a generous sympathy and emulation spread over your land from the moment when an anti-slavery policy is determined on, and the Abolitionists taking their proper place as guides and sympathizers, and thus quickening the process of making Abolitionists of all their neighbors. It is a great day, surely, when their testimony assumes a new form, in virtue of its very faithfulness. At first, the form was protest and remonstrance; now it is encouragement and instruction, to churches, societies, and individuals; and if, at last, your country gets out of its difficulty without a servile war or other terrible catastrophe, it will evidently be by the Abolitionists having qualified themselves, through much tribulation, to lead on their neighbors in a march rapid enough to preclude the catastrophe. By the readiness and completeness of one portion of the national mind for the great time coming, due confidence and strength may be given to the popular will, on behalf of the right, early enough to obviate a fatal fight over it. Whatever may be the event, the character of the period seems to have become very clear, with the development of the Republican party, however little we may expect from that or any other political party.

The ripening of European destinies has been more rapid during the last month than at any other known period. I need not tell you how affairs are proceeding in Italy, nor how intense is the interest felt by every nation in the issues there. But I hope you observe the results of that policy of England which was so loudly condemned in your country and in some other places a year and a half ago. See, now, how the Italians and the world at large regard England and France! After the professions of magnanimity and chivalrous love of freedom on the part of France (which has no higher ambition than military "glory," and has no freedom), see the trickery by which she has filched Savoy and Nice, and is plotting to get something more, and has occupied Rome, and towns which had freed themselves, and is now actually guarding the wretched King of Naples at Gaeta, prolonging the suspense and the war, in the midst of fresh avowals of non-intervention! See England, on the other hand—England, which always said she could do no more than defend the right of the Italians to do what they chose! While the French Emperor and his ministers are daily complaining to all the world of the mistrust shown by all nations and their rulers, England is adored by the Italians and all free peoples; and, what is far better than being adored, she is powerful on their behalf. Lord John Russell's despatch in justification of the course of the Italians actually weighs more in the balance of destiny than the combined condemnation of France, Russia, Austria, Prussia and Spain. All these have published their condemnation of what the Italians have done. We have, in consequence, published our approbation of it; and that approbation holds in check the malevolence of all the rest. There will be no Congress, because England says that the Powers have no business with what the Italians have done at home. The Warsaw Conference has been an utter failure, because there was nothing that the despots could do; and, ill as the French Emperor has behaved in protracting the suspense and the war in Italy, and in robbing Piedmont of provinces, he is undoubtedly restrained, by the firm and disinterested position of England, from any fatal aggression at present. All that England wants is to obtain a fair field for all struggling nations. To secure them that fair field she would go to war, but for nothing else. She will not go out as a champion on any side, but she would, if necessary, to prevent their being prevented. Even the French Emperor finds it expedient to profess a course which he sees that the world honors in us. He violates the profession, as usual; but it is a testimony to its weight in the world.

The two miserable despots at Warsaw parted more gloomy than they met. The Czar was shamed by his subjugated Poles before the eyes of his guests. His cottage, where he was to arrive, was in flames when he reached it; the family church, which he intended to visit, was burning when he came within sight of it. The Polish ladies would not appear. The Polish people would not be civil, and the Czar departed wrathful and depressed. There was bad news for him from all quarters, and so there will be, unless he fulfils his engagements, and rules according to the spirit of the time. The Emperor of Austria was equally wretched, and far more helpless. The news reached him of his being too late with his promises to Hungary, which were discredited where not spurned. The other confederate, the Prince of Prussia, has not gained by his visit to Warsaw; but he doubtless went in order to miss no chance of securing Prussia from the aggressions of France. The glory of the Italy of 1860 eclipses that of all the despotisms of any century.

H. M.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 27, 1860.

THE Disunion fever in the cotton States has a very marked effect upon this city, and many of our business men are panic-struck. The general opinion seems to be that the Union is going to split—somewhere. The line is not yet drawn, but most of the people of the District will have it that secession of some of the States cannot be avoided. But when I hear these predictions, I remember a fact in the history of an old friend of mine. It was years ago, and I was then a boy in a New England village. This friend, or neighbor, was a very worldly man, and possessed a very large landed estate. When the Millerite fever broke out he became one of its converts, and was exceedingly enthusiastic over the belief in an immediate conflagration of the world. The time set for the grand consummation of all things was in April. During the preceding March, a poor man in the village sought the wealthy Millerite, and spoke to him as follows:

"Neighbor, I am in want of fuel. I am poor, and can hardly afford to pay for it. You have acres of woodland—and cords of the seasoned article at your door—will you not, seeing you can never use it yourself, give me enough to keep me warm till April?" Now the Millerite verily thought he believed the world would come to an end in April, *but he did not give the poor man any wood!* So with our District alarmists and croakers; they are certain that the Union is in its death agony, yet I cannot learn that houses or building lots are sold any the cheaper for the panic, and the very men who protest that property is worth nothing in the District refuse to take ten per cent. less for what they possess.

No intelligent person can deny, however, that a separation of the States is possible, and the secession of one, two or three, probable. That is, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama will very likely vote themselves out of the Union, without getting out. It is generally conceded that South Carolina will vote herself out within a month. If let alone, doubtless she will be glad enough to get back again—gladder than the other States will be to have her come back. The important question, therefore, is—Will the General Government let her alone? Mr. Buchanan probably will. He holds that no State has the Constitutional right to secede from the Union, but will not attempt to compel allegiance without a special act of Congress. But when Mr. Lincoln is inaugurated, will he be so lenient towards treason and traitors? I think not; and if not, then comes "the tug of war." Whenever the Federal Government uses force against secession, will not the remaining slave States be drawn, one by one, into the struggle? Will they not sympathize so strongly with South Carolina as finally to make her course their own? At such times in the history of nations, you well know that the dictates of Prudence are not often followed. Passion rules the hour. A separation of the slave States from the free is, then, perfectly possible, and within a twelvemonth of this time, but such an event is not probable.

There are men here from all the cotton States, who are not Disunionists, reliable men, and who assert that in South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi the disunion fever sweeps everything before it. The large slaveholders are generally against secession, but the small ones and the rabble are in a large majority in those States. They say, further, that Lincoln's election is but a pretext for secession, and that the present excitement in the South is the work of Northern Democratic journals, like *The New York Herald*, which have lied so monstrously about the Republican party and the people of the free States.

We have a number of people in Washington who are so thoroughly sick of the everlasting threats of South Carolina, that they are for kicking her out instantly. One gentleman, and a prominent politician he is, too, said, "Let her go out, on one condition—that she will agree forever to stay out." Another man uttered the following language: "I am for inviting all the slave States to leave that desire it, and then we will build a Chinese wall to separate them from us." A Georgian said, in my hearing, "As for South Carolina, d—n her, if she had but one neck, I would volunteer to hang her." I give these stories that you may see the current of sentiment in a certain quarter here. It is in favor of allowing the Fire-eaters to quit the existing Confederacy. In homely language, their room is worth more than their company.

But, after all, the great danger is that Northern merchants and Northern manufacturers will get frightened, and the North will make shocking concessions of principle to pacify the noisy crew of Southern rebels. This is the game of the Northern slave States. *They* do not want disunion, for it would prove ruinous to all their interests. But if, by petting the treason, they can scare the free States into a repeal of all the Personal Liberty bills, and into the proper mood for giving further guaranties for slavery, they will, depend upon it, make good use of their occasion. The Democratic journals in the North already scent a new Compromise "afar off." The attempt will be made by and by—after South Carolina has "resolved" herself out of the Union. Then we shall see what "conciliation" will do. Conciliation means, Northern abasement, Northern dirt-eating, Republican conservatism. Congress will be called upon to give the South a Slave Code for the Territories. The President and the Senate are now for it, and the only hope of its defeat is in the House of Representatives. The Republican members, I believe, will stand firm for Freedom; but you will not forget that they are not a majority of the House. Mr. Pennington was elected Speaker by the votes of men who do not belong to the Republican party. Whether the Douglas Democrats will quail before the impending secession, is more than any man can safely predict at this time. It is my opinion, however, that the game of bluster and impudence will not succeed. If it does, the free States will soon begin to threaten secession in earnest.

There is a good deal of Republicanism in this District that is worse than the pro-slaveryism of the Democratic party. I heard a prominent Republican express his gratification at the kidnapping of free colored sailors off the coast of Florida; and he added, "I wish *all* the free negroes could be scared in the same manner." Yet this man expects an office from Mr. Lincoln, and has been for more than a year an enthusiastic member of the Republican party. Keitt himself could not utter a more atrocious sentiment than the one which fell from his lips. Men of this kind accept the Republican platform for the sake of office, and for nothing else. They have no idea that regard for an oppressed race, or hatred of despotism, has anything to do with the present warfare upon slavery. It is hatred of negroes, or rather of "niggers," which animates them; and if the slave population must choose between their tender mercies and those of Southern slaveholders, they need not hesitate in making their decision.

The latest advices from the South state that the entire crew of secession M. C.'s will take their seats in Congress. Is not this course characteristic of the slaveholders? Traitors and rebels coming to the General Government for their pay as National legislators, while they plot treason and assert that within a twelvemonth they will be outside of the Union! Was ever honor of that kind current among gentlemen before? These blatant orators love their salaries a little better than their doctrines; and, better than either, to utter their horrible threats against the peace of the Union from Washington, that Northern traders may be scared. We shall have a very lively session, and probably one of great importance to the cause of human freedom.

AVON.

BORDER WAR IN SOUTHERN KANSAS.

A FEW days since, the country was startled by a telegraphic despatch, received by the Administration at Washington from one of the pro-slavery U. S. Judges in Kansas, announcing that Capt. Montgomery, with a company of Abolitionists, from 300 to 500 in number, with arms recently imported from the East, had attacked Fort Scott and compelled the said Judge (Williams) and other officers of the U. S. District Court to flee for their lives. It was stated also that they had taken the towns on the line of Missouri, and that Capt. Montgomery had avowed his purpose to invade that State and emancipate all the slaves in the south-west portion thereof. Without waiting to make any inquiry into the truth of these reports, a despatch was at once sent from the War Department (presided over by Gov. Floyd of Virginia, a bitter slaveholder), to the bloody-minded Gen. Harney at St. Louis, commanding him immediately to march a force against Montgomery. The telegraph announced that all Western Missouri was in a state of the wildest excitement, and that military companies were being formed to defend the country from the abolition "murderers and marauders." We were sure from the first that these allegations respecting Capt. Montgomery were "Border Ruffian" falsehoods, intended to screen some scheme of villany. The following despatch to the daily papers of this city confirms our opinion:

LAWRENCE, K. T., Monday, Nov. 26, 1860.

The whole country is imposed upon by the late reports of the Kansas difficulties. I abjure all to await the facts before judging. Judge Williams, who has so deceived the public, is a frightened old dotard, unworthy of credence. His Court has not been molested; Fort Scott has not been attacked; Paris, nor any other place, has not been sacked; Montgomery's party has not entered Missouri, and never intended to; not one cent has been given him or his men from recent Eastern contributions; no arms or munitions have been sent them, as reported. All their arms have been in the Territories for years, and I challenge contrary proof. All such statements as the Judge has made are vile fabrications that are doing our people infinite wrong. Let the public charge it either to his malice or ignorance. It is admitted, however, that exciting events are upon us.

WM. HUTCHINSON.

The Tribune thus explains the objects of Capt. Montgomery and the circumstances which have led him and his followers to take up arms:

"About three years since a survey was made of the Indian lands in the south-western corner of the Territory, and the northern boundary of the Indian Reservation fixed about twelve miles south of Fort Scott. Immediately north of this was the New York Reservation, and notice was given that these lands were open to settlement, as the Indian title would soon be extinguished. Settlers accordingly poured in, lands were taken up on preemption, farms made, houses built, and Bourbon County presently gave an indication of the character of the emigration by a large Republican vote at the elections. This was not the result contemplated or hoped for by the Government, and one of those high-handed measures, of which there are so many in the history of Kansas, was resorted to to drive these people out. A new survey was made, and the Indian boundary was extended eight miles northward, and the inhabitants, numbering more than fifteen hundred, were ordered to quit the Territory. Trusting that redress would come with delay, they lingered until the notice for the land sale of the New York Reservation was issued. With this came a new order, for the people of the eight-mile strip, on which they had settled in accordance with the boundaries of the first survey, to abandon their homes and improvements; and as they still lingered, reluctant to give up the fruits of three years toil, expended because they put faith in an an act of the Government, the Indian Agent, with fifty dragoons at his back, invaded the settlement, with his own hand put the torch to their dwellings, threw their household goods out of doors, and drove them almost naked from their homes. Seventy-four houses, it is said, have been by this officer and his emissaries, reduced to ashes. In the meantime, the President refuses to postpone the time of the land sale in the adjoining Reservation, and there the people are given over, in a time of unusual distress and poverty, to the invasion of the Border Ruffians, who burn and slay, and renew the terrible scenes of the darkest days of Kansas. Such are the measures resorted to by the Federal office-holders, aided by Government authority, to prevent Kansas from becoming a free State. It is these acts of aggression and tyranny that have prompted Capt. Montgomery and his men once more to fly to their arms to protect their lives, their free homes and free labor. If we need any more compromises, is it not well to consider whether it is not demanded quite as much on behalf of liberty as for the protection of slavery?"

Special Despatch to the New York Tribune.

LEAVENWORTH, Tuesday, Nov. 27, 1860.

Mr. Jones, Register at Lecompton, reports that Acting-Governor Beebe has visited Capt. Montgomery at his home. He denied any intention of invading the States or breaking up the Courts. He acknowledged the Governor's authority, and, upon request, released the prisoners whom they were trying for kidnapping. He stated that he had only forty men; that he had hung three men for kidnapping, and was responsible for it. Gov. Medary thinks the matter can be settled without troops.

A WESTERN GOVERNOR—HOW HE TALKS.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE following extract from a letter of a recent Western correspondent may amuse your readers, and perhaps awaken in some a sadder feeling:

"I heard the Governor of this State deliver a speech in a Republican meeting last Saturday evening. He showed the democracy that there was no difference between their candidate for the Presidency and his own, on slavery, with the single exception of its admission into Territories; and that Kansas, or any Territory, could establish slavery, *as a State*, as soon after admission into the Union as she pleased; but, while a Territory, the Republican policy would be to keep it sacred to free *white* labor alone. Oh, it was a cold, heartless, brutal appeal to sordid cupidity on the one hand, and negro hate on the other; no word of sympathy for the enslaved escaped him, not even as a *lapsus linguæ*, in a tremendous harangue of two hours, and *three cuds of tobacco!* Speaking of tobacco, if Governor —— is not the nastiest fellow I ever saw on a public platform, then my eyes and nostrils were given me to little purpose. It was Saturday night; his shirt collar, bosom, wristbands, all showed that. He pulled off his cravat, and down went his collar—a capital instance of "*squatter* sovereignty." He spoke two sentences, and then pumped off; then two or three more, and pumped again. Pretty soon a huge quid fell from his mouth, which he caught in his hand, and tossed under his feet. Shortly after, he drew from his pocket a large piece of tobacco, peeled off a mouthful, threw the remainder on the desk before him, and then, newly wadded, he tore on again, like a railroad engine.

"I saw the house swept next morning, and *three* exhausted mouthfuls lay, like dead soldiers, on the platform. Not a word of this is fancy. I saw but one quid taken, but three were on the floor in the morning. Pardon me for thus yielding to say so much on so disgusting a theme. But it haunted me all day yesterday like a demon. You have no idea what extensive use is made of that loathsome product here in the remote West."

I know, Mr. Editor, this is no pleasing subject, either the tobacco or the pro-slavery. But if Governors will *talk* and *behave* as above, they ought to be exposed and put to open shame. They, and such as they, it is, whose example demoralizes, misguides, and degrades the people. Shame for them!

NEW ENGLAND.

DEFERRED.—We are again disappointed in being unable to find room for the letter from Rev. W. H. Bonner, of London, to which we alluded last week. Its subject-matter, however, will lose none of its interest by this brief delay. We are also compelled to defer a letter from Aaron M. Powell, several editorial articles, notices of new publications, etc. And now, just as we are going to press, have come letters from our London Correspondent and Parker Pillsbury, which must wait till next week.

A NOTE FROM BAYARD TAYLOR.

CINCINNATI, Nov. 21, 1860.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

DEAR SIR: It is not my custom to notice any published attack upon myself, unless it involves a serious misrepresentation. In the "Letter from Robert Purvis," published in your paper of the 17th, I am referred to, not by name, but so pointedly that no one can doubt the writer's meaning. A very few words of reply will suffice.

I am charged with using my "popularity" "to depress still lower a race already in the dust," and with "gratuitously speaking against the colored race," and this charge is made the excuse for public attacks of an unusually vulgar and personal character. I now distinctly state that I have never even mentioned the negro race in any lecture or speech until within the last eight days; that the only reference to that race in my published writings is the statement of the fact that they are represented in the ancient Egyptian tombs only as slaves or captives taken in war, and that the Egyptians themselves did not belong to the negro race.

If these statements are incorrect, let Mr. Purvis prove them to be so; but in no case have they any bearing on the cause he advocates. He has a perfect right to attack any opinion which I have publicly advanced; but he has no right to *invent* motives for me. Both of his assaults in Chester County were founded on falsehoods—one upon an alleged remark made in a private conversation, and the other on a malicious story invented by the New York correspondent of a New Orleans paper. Even if the remark attributed to me had been correct, Mr. Purvis had no right to make a public use of it.

Whatever my views with regard to the negro race may be, they have nothing to do with the question of human rights. When those views are publicly expressed, Mr. Purvis may attack *them*, if he chooses; but if he continues to deny me any sense of right and justice, it will only be an evidence of his unfitness to discuss any question with that *impersonal* calmness and fairness, through which only can Truth be reached.

I appeal from the morbid sensitiveness of that one-eighth of him which is insulted, to the sober common-sense of the seven-eighths which cannot possibly have been insulted.

YOURS, BAYARD TAYLOR.

NO SLAVE-HUNTING IN THE EMPIRE STATE.

THE time has arrived when the friends of freedom in the Empire State are called upon to make a new and vigorous effort to procure the enactment of a statute that shall interpose an effectual barrier to the incursions of the Southern slave-hunter upon their soil. It is the more important that this effort should be made now, in view of the insolent demands of the Slave Oligarchy for the repeal of the Personal Liberty laws of other States, and of the disposition evinced by weak-kneed and weak-backed Republicans to offer the required sacrifice, in the hope of thereby smoothing their way to offices long coveted and now almost within reach. These Republican doughfaces must be made to understand that they cannot, with safety even to their own interest, trifle with the earnest, heartfelt anti-slavery sentiment of the North; and there is no better way of enforcing this lesson than by a general uprising of the people to demand the enactment of new safeguards against slave-hunting.

We subjoin a form of petition which we wish might, within the next six weeks, be presented to the members of every household in the Empire State. We are confident that, if proper efforts are made, ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND signatures may be very easily obtained.

PETITION.

To the Honorable Senate and Assembly of the State of New York:

The undersigned, citizens of —— State of New York, respectfully ask you to put an end to SLAVE-HUNTING, in New York, by enacting that no person, who has been held as a slave, shall be delivered up, by any officer or court, State or Federal, within this State, to any one claiming him on the ground that he owes "service or labor" to such claimant, by the laws of one of the slave States of this Union.

"Thou shalt NOT deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee. *He shall dwell with thee*, even among you in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, WHERE IT LIKETH HIM BEST: *thou shalt not oppress him.*"—DEUT. XXIII., 15, 16.

Send up long lists of signatures early in January, addressed to some reliable member of the Legislature, or to Lydia Mott, Anti-Slavery Office, Albany, N. Y.

Orders for blank Petitions, Tracts for gratuitous distribution, also letters relative to lectures, and those containing contributions to the cause, should be addressed to the General Agent, Lydia Mott, Anti-Slavery Office, Albany, N. Y.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH National Anti-Slavery Subscription-Anniversary. JANUARY, 1861.

WHEN the claim for Universal Liberty was first made in our country, the best part of a lifetime ago, the work lay wholly in futurity. The idea and the principles of Human Rights were to be replanted, the justice and necessity of their cause as against slavery to be proved, the prevailing apathy to be broken, the public mind to be awakened and enkindled, the insufficiency of a Church and State controlled by slavery to compass freedom to be demonstrated, the retrogression of the land towards barbarism under their sway to be made manifest, and freedom of speech, of the press, and of a new specific association to be claimed and exercised as the only sufficient instrumentalities of progress.

This is the initiatory work that has been done, and by it abundant opportunities of direct action have been rendered practicable. The WORK ITSELF, in a thousand shapes, now lies before us, whose privilege it has been to make ready for it. The despotism is driven into open day. To meet it, requires devotion, industry, and the sacred fire of a true enthusiasm. It requires energy, cooperation and the discipline of self-control. It requires generous contributions of money. We trust that all these indispensable requisites are now, as ever, ready.

We earnestly and cordially entreat all who love our native land in sincerity, whether Europeans or Americans, to unite with us more numerously and more generously than ever to meet the demands of a period of crises unparalleled in the history of our country—new, indeed, in the history of the world. For when before has it ever happened that Freedom has been sought from among a dominant people for a down-trodden one, on so grand a scale as this? We ask aid of Europeans, while we bid them observe that their freedom makes progress only in exact proportion as our slavery is brought into discredit. We ask aid of Americans; for where is the American to whom this cause of ours is not the supreme interest of the present hour as affording the only hope of Futurity? The work before us is ever that primary one contemplated by no other existing body, political or religious: the work that Church and Government are always tempted by the necessities of their position as such to neglect, adjourn, suppress. And the stronger the desire of their members to promote the cause, the stronger the temptation, being so placed, to temporise and to compromise.

To all these we confidently appeal for aid in the work they can neither do, nor do without.

We cordially invite all who love Liberty the world over, to meet us at the Music Hall, Boston, in the month of January next, in person or by letter, uniting their sympathies and contributions with ours in the great work of the time—the peaceful extinction of American slavery.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,	LYDIA D. PARKER,
MARY MAY,	ELIZA F. EDDY,
LOUISA LORING,	SARAH P. REMOND,
L. MARIA CHILD,	ABBY FRANCIS,
HENRIETTA SARGENT,	SARAH RUSSELL MAY,
ANNE WARREN WESTON,	ABBY KELLEY FOSTER,
MARY GRAY CHAPMAN,	SARAH H. SOUTHWICK,
HELEN ELIZA GARRISON,	EVELINA A. S. SMITH,
SARAH SHAW RUSSELL,	ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL,
FRANCES MARY ROBBINS,	AUGUSTA G. KING,
CAROLINE WESTON,	ELIZABETH VON ARNIM,
MARY WILLEY,	ANNA SHAW GREENE,
SARAH BLAKE SHAW,	ELIZA APTHORP,
SUSAN C. CABOT,	MARY ELIZABETH SARGENT,
SARAH P. ATKINSON,	MATTIE GRIFFITH,
ELIZA ANDREW,	ANNE LANGDON ALGER,

MARY E. STEARNS.

W. S. BAILEY, of Newport, Ky., was set at liberty by *habeas corpus*, after having been in prison only a few hours. He is yet to be tried upon a charge of incendiarism.

INGRATITUDE OF THE SLAVEHOLDERS.—The Charleston *Mercury* is, perhaps, the ablest, certainly the most thoroughgoing champion of slavery among all the presses of the South. It is now, and has been for years, the principal organ of the Fire-eaters. Read the following sad wail of the editor, which appeared in its columns within a few days:

"How is it with Southern presses, faithful to the rights and institutions of the South? Take the Charleston *Mercury*, which for thirty-five years has been a prominent press in the South—what has been the fate of its editors? The *first* ruined—the *second* barely earned a narrow subsistence—the *third* injured, but sold out in time—the *fourth* died a ruined man. The *fifth* is our humble selves, of whom we will say nothing. What paper at the North has brought to the public understanding more ability, eloquence or fidelity, than the Charleston *Mercury* (we speak not of ourselves)! There have been brains and labor enough in it to have amassed a dozen fortunes. Yet how meagre has been the patronage conferred upon it, compared with its Northern contemporaries? How many tens of thousands of dollars due to it have been lost, uncollectable and unpaid! How many tens of thousands of dollars are yet due to it—and chiefly by the very men—the planters—the slaveholders of the South—whose property and institutions—whose liberties and lives, it has labored to protect! If its principle and policy were for sale to-morrow, in Wall street, in New York, it could with ease realize a hundred thousand dollars. We know what we say. Elwood Fisher sunk a fortune of forty thousand dollars in the contest of 1850-2, by his press in Washington, in the perilous enterprise of defending the rights and institutions of the South. Are the defenders of the South by the public press, in the greater contest of 1860, to be Elwood Fishers?"

We learn from parties in this city who know whereof they affirm that *The Mercury*, which always speaks with an "I turn the crank of the universe" air, has a daily circulation of only 300 copies! Such a fact speaks volumes as to the effects of slavery upon a community.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, No. 861 (for 1st Dec., 1860), opens with an admirable article from *Frazer's Magazine*, "Concerning Two Blisters of Humanity; being Thoughts on Petty Malignity and Petty Trickery." It is one of a series of papers, "concerning" a variety of very important and very practical matters, by a writer who, though somewhat prolix, is always interesting. We find in this number also a paper from *The Edinburgh Review*, on "Brain Difficulties," being a review of a work by Forbes Winslow. It contains many very interesting and striking facts in regard to cerebral derangement, with which everybody should be familiar. We have another valuable paper, from the same source, on "Recent Geographical Researches," and several briefer articles on a variety of topics. Boston: Littell, Son & Co.

ANNIVERSARY OF JOHN BROWN'S MARTYRDOM.—To-morrow (Sunday, Dec. 2d) will be the first anniversary of the martyrdom of the immortal hero, JOHN BROWN. On Monday, Dec. 3d, a meeting will be held in the Tremont Temple, in Boston, to consider the question, "How can American Slavery be abolished?" Gerrit Smith, Wendell Phillips, Frederick Douglass, Montgomery Blair, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Rev. Mr. Wheeler and others are advertised to speak.

SEWARD'S WESTERN SPEECHES.—These remarkable speeches have been published in a cheap pamph

Miscellaneous Department.

THE OLD BASS VIOL.

Have you never heard of good Father Train,
Who schooled so soundly and preached so plain,
And fought the devil with might and main?

Small hire he got, yet he always throve,
For he gave his heart to the trade he drove,
"He taught for a living, and preached for love."

Noble and bold were the words which rung
In council and kirk from his godly tongue,
And noble and bold were the psalms he sung.

Long years hath the veteran's grave been made,
But I prize the altar at which he prayed,
And the old bass viol whereon he played.

It is leaning now by my sturdy door,
And I love its worn face all the more,
That it lightened the burdens a parson bore.

I love to think that far or near,
Though sense be lost to the palsied ear,
There's always a music the *soul* can hear.

I love to think that early and late,
Though the tongue with melody never can mate,
Some thrill of song in the *soul* may wait.

It is muffled away in the breast alone,
A gift, mayhap, to the heart unknown,
Till the joys of heaven unfold the tone.

But many, awake on earlier wings,
Will answer in music to all sweet things,
And copy their joy on earthly strings.

And he is one. In his holiest time
He proved the cheer of the viol's chime,
And worshipped the Lord in psalter rhyme.

So summer and winter came and went,
While the songs and the fates grew kindly blent
Of the man and his chosen instrument:

That when the soul of the saint arose,
His track the soul of the viol chose,
And the music-pulse in his bosom froze.

All stringless, beaten, and bent awry,
Into a garret dark and high,
They flung the poor, dumb prophet by.

There, long, in the curves of its shattered shell,
The spider folded her silken cell,
And the death-watch tapped to his mate, "All's well."

And many a summer the earth-wasp came,
With wings that quivered and flashed like flame,
And glued its nest to the ruined frame.

But for a chance he had slumbered yet,
With the lull of the death-watch's drowsy fret,
And the fly-dirge droned from the spider's net.

I heard where the lorn old wizard lay,
And calling him forth from his nook one day,
I won him back to his ancient play.

I burnished his faded form, and wrung
His writhed joints till the old grew young,
And his grand-toned nerves I newly strung.

Then I healed him many a ghastly hole,
And gave him the grace that time had stole,
And tunefully back came his aged soul.

By the window I sit when the day-beams wane,
And he leans on my breast and sings his strain,
Till I start at the voice of Father Train.

And I know that, beyond the burial calm,
The saint is leaning with harp and palm,
And joining his old-time viol-psalm.

—*Watchman and Reflector.*

THE MARCH OF THE GLACIER.

There are few spectacles in nature so calculated to inspire awe and provoke curiosity as those "motionless torrents, silent cataracts," which form the glaciers of the Alps. At first sight, one can almost sympathize with the stolid English tourist, who, after gazing on one of them for some time in silence, declared that it was "obtrusive and unmeaning." There is something unspeakably strange and perplexing in the presence of a vast mass of ice, to all appearance fixed, immutable, under a burning sun, and in close contact with verdure and fertility. The dazzling pallor, the desolation, the silence of the "dead sea" of ice, contrast forcibly with the green and golden vegetation of the valley, with the ripe corn fields, the spreading foliage, and the

Flowers of loveliest blue
That skirt the eternal frost.

It is death in the midst of life, the skeleton at the banquet of nature.

Standing by the brink or on the surface of the hard, rigid mass, the assertion that it moves is startling, and almost incredible; indeed, a certain professor of Tubingen went home, after a visit to Switzerland, and wrote a book flatly denying the possibility of glacier motion. Observation and reflection, however, quickly remove our doubts. We have only to keep our eye on one of the blocks of stone upon the ice, in a line with two fixed points—a tree or ledge of rock—at opposite sides of the glacier, to be assured that the stone changes its position, and is borne downwards with the ice. The glacier, too, tells its story in unmistakable language. It inscribes the record of its journey on the hardest rocks, and carries on its breast, or at its base, fragments of distant mountains, which, like the scallop in the palmer's hat, tell of its wanderings. In fact, the very existence of the glacier depends on its motion. Unless the ice below the snow line, which, during every summer, is melted by the sun, were replaced, the lower part of the glacier would in a few years disappear. While, however, the ice at the base is gradually being reduced to water, fresh snow is falling on the summit of the mountain, and displacing previous deposits, which, descending, are converted into ice, and added to the glacier. According to Renolu, the accumulation of the mountain snows adds each year 58 inches of ice to a glacier. This would make Mont Blanc 400 feet higher in a century, and 4,000 feet higher in a thousand years. Dissolution and compensation are thus constantly going forward, and the downward motion of the mass prevents any diminution from being observed. Rigid and inflexible, therefore, as the glacier seems, it is in reality a restless body, subject to constant motion and perpetual change, ever hastening from its birthplace in the mountain-bosom above to its grave in the pasture-ground below. It is something more than mere metaphor to call a glacier a *mer de glace*. The resemblance extends beyond the mere wave-like appearance of the surface. The deeps and shallows, widenings and narrowings, rapids and sluggish parts, the quicker flow of the centre than of the sides, the depression which occurs when the current sweeps round a buttress, the junction of branches and tributaries—all are to be found in the glacier as in the river.

The general fact that the glaciers move has been known for a long period to the inhabitants of the mountains; but it is only of late years that attempts have been made to estimate the rate at which they travel. Hugi found that, from 1827 to 1830, his cabin upon the glacier of the Aar had moved about 110 yards downwards; while, in 1841, it had attained a distance of some 1570 yards from its original position. Observations on the same point have subsequently been made by M. Agassiz, Professor J. D. Forbes, Professor Tyndall, and others, and some confusion has arisen from the different results obtained. The truth is, that the movement of a glacier is influenced by the slope on which it rests, and by the obstructions which occupy its path; and hence a separate measurement is required for each case. It has, however, been proved, not only that the centre of the glacier moves more swiftly than its sides, but that the point of swiftest motion follows the same law as that observed in the flow of rivers, shifting from one side of the centre to the other, as the direction of the valley changes. "The positions of towns along the banks of a navigable river," writes Professor Tyndall, "are mainly determined by this circumstance. They are, in most cases, situated on the convex sides of the bends, where the rush of water prevents silting up. Can it be, then, that the ice exhibits a similar deportment? that the same principle which regulates the distribution of people along the banks of the Thames is also acting with silent energy amid the glaciers of the Alps?"

The fact of the motion having been ascertained, a stirring controversy, not yet at rest, arose as to the physical quality of the ice in virtue of which a glacier moves like a river. First, there was the theory of De Saussure, the great Alpine traveller, that glaciers moved as rigid bodies, sliding over the inclined beds on which they rested, and to which they were frozen by the cold of winter, and relieved by the thaws of spring and summer. Another theory, started by Charpentier, and supported by Agassiz, was, that the more exposed parts of the glacier melting gradually, filled the capillary fissures of the ice with water, the expansion of which, as it became frozen, furnished the force which pushed the glacier downward. The first of these theories was insufficient, and the second was contradicted by actual observations on the ice.

To the laborious researches and philosophic mind of Professor J. D. Forbes, of Edinburgh, do we owe the most satisfactory theory of glacier motion. Professor Forbes having had his attention drawn to the subject by Agassiz in 1841, devoted himself to it with an enthusiasm and perseverance which at least deserved success. Year after year, he repaired to Switzerland, took up his quarters on the ice, explored the glaciers in all directions, and, as the result of his observations, propounded what is known as the Viscous Theory (from *viscus*, glue). "A glacier," he says, "is an imperfect fluid or viscous body, which is urged down slopes of a certain inclination by the mutual pressure of its parts. * * * Imagine a long narrow trough or canal, stopped at both ends, and filled to a considerable depth with treacle, honey, tar, or any such viscid fluid. Imagine one end of the trough to give way, the bottom still remaining horizontal: if the friction of the fluid against the bottom be greater than the friction against its own particles, the upper strata will roll over the lower ones, and protrude in a convex slope, which will be propagated backwards towards the other or closed end of the trough. Had the matter been quite fluid, the whole would have run out, and spread itself on a level: as it is, it assumes precisely the conditions which we suppose to exist in a glacier."

The use of the term "viscous" has caused much discussion. The assertion that glacierice possesses viscosity, or the power of being drawn out when subjected to a force of tension, has been stoutly combated by Professor Tyndall and others, who insist that the ice is not viscous, but plastic. "Broadly observed," writes Professor Tyndall, "two classes of facts are presented to the glacier observer—the one suggestive of viscosity, and the other of the reverse. The former are to be seen where *pressure* comes into play, the latter where *tension* is operative. By pressure, ice can be moulded into any shape, while the same ice snaps sharply asunder if subjected to tension. Were the result worth the labor, ice might be moulded into vases, statuettes, bent into spiral bars, and, I doubt not, by the proper application of pressure, a rope of ice might be formed and coiled into a knot. But not one of these experiments would in the least demonstrate that ice is really a viscous body." Professor Tyndall points out, that, when subjected to a strain, the glacier does not yield by stretching, but by breaking. When the particles of the ice are kept in close contact, they become reunited by the freezing of the film of moisture between them; but when they are too far asunder, crevasses are formed. The continuity of the mass, therefore, he maintains, is due, not to the viscosity of the ice, but to "the regelation of the new contiguous surfaces."

After all, the dispute is very much a war of words. It is well known that a substance confessedly viscous may be broken by a sudden shock or strain. A piece of sealing-wax, as Professor Forbes observes, will, in the course of time, at moderate temperatures, mould itself to the most delicate inequalities of the surface on which it rests, but may at the same time be shivered to atoms by the blow of a hammer. In the same way, even tar may be crevassed when of a certain consistency. The regelation which Professor Tyndall makes such a noise about, is very much a matter of imagination. That ice possesses that power is beyond dispute; but we have no positive proof that it is called into play in the movement of a glacier, any more than that a similar operation is not performed in the case of tar, honey, treacle, and other viscous substances.—*Chambers's Journal.*

GOD'S SCHOOL.

Consider the educating power of the great Anti-Slavery Movement upon our continent. If you were to establish a school in every district, you could not make such a knowledge possible, as is set forth in the fundamental principles of our Government in connection with this reformation. I know that there is such a repugnance to color that men would not like to go to school to Africa or Africans; but when God meant to teach this nation how to throw off oppressions, he sent them a black schoolmaster. It was not for your own rights, it was not against red coats, but for black faces, that you contended. It was not the old Revolutionary fervor that animated you, which, although it was a noble quality, began, was exercised and ended in self-interest. It was a benevolence that stood as liberty for those that could not claim it for themselves. And we have had every form and mode of reasoning. We have had every kind and species of arguing and free discussion. And there is, to-day, throughout the North, and in the upper tier of the Southern States, a better understanding of the great principles of human rights, than there was before the first drum-tap of the Revolutionary war. We are further along than we were then; and the world is. And God has educated us by this process. While ministers have fulminated against, and philanthropists have worn out their handkerchiefs in weeping over agitation, God has smiled and held on his course. He had thrown open the doors of this continent as his own academy, and put his people to school; and when the master tickled them with the ferule and rod, and made them learn their lessons, they cried; and God said, "At it again!" He meant to educate them; and he does what he means to, generally!

In all this conflict of liberty against slavery, see how constantly the advocates of the former have been defeated. And what has been the result? I cannot tell you how many funerals I have attended of this movement. I cannot tell you how many times I have heard the last ceremonies performed over the dead and defunct cause of anti-slavery. And yet it would not die. It has been carried out like the widow's son, I suppose a hundred times; and every time it has met a Christ that touched the bier and brought it to life. How many times have assemblies killed it, finally! How many times have synods at last got their foot on this thing—and it was not there! How many times have presbyteries thrown it out of doors with just the same success that a man would have who undertook to throw out of the window the air, which instantly came in again at every crack and cranny, at the sides of the room, and from above and below stairs. The very things that men take to destroy it, give it power. Defeat! it is the food that warriors live on. It is defeat that turns bone to flint. It is defeat that turns gristle to muscle. It is defeat that makes men invincible. It is defeat that has made those heroic natures that are now in the ascendency, and that has given the sweet law of liberty for the bitter law of oppression. Do not, therefore, be afraid of defeat. You are never so near victory as when you are defeated in a good cause. For then they had Christ when they kissed him; but that kiss, so foul on Judas's lips, on the face of Christ shone like a jewel. Yes, then they had him, when they hauled him before the Sanhedrim at midnight; but it was like a triumphal march. Then, when they led him towards Calvary, they had him. And then, when to the music of hammers they lifted him up, and he hung suspended and groaning, and with implorations of unutterable agony died, and the heavens were dark, their victory was accomplished, and so was their everlasting defeat. For not till he died could he live, or we in him. It was slaying him that gave him power. And so of everything that has the nature of Christ in it—every truth, every cause, every sanctity, every noble thing. Slay it if you can, and, like the gashes of Milton's angels, its wounds will close by the healing, heavenly virtues of its own nature, and it will stand forth with even greater power than before.

Henry Ward Beecher.

NERVOUS WOMEN.

From The Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch.

A writer for *Life Illustrated* recently furnished that paper with a short article entitled "Nervous Women," which was copied first by *The Dispatch*, and since by many other papers. The author has chosen for her model the generally coarse and occasionally original "Fanny Fern." But whilst she (we are happy to say) does not equal Fanny in coarseness, neither, we regret to add, does she approach her in originality. Indeed, her sketch has neither piquancy nor force, and is only worthy of comment from being a faint echo of the many loud cries constantly being made by people of more sound than sense, who, strong themselves in physical health, and devoid of sensibility, believe all of delicate nerves and impulsive temperaments subjects for ridicule or distrust.

The writer of the article alluded to no doubt congratulated herself heartily that her nerves are not easily irritated nor her sensibilities readily wounded. She implores and beseeches her readers not to make themselves disagreeable and troublesome by the possession of such things as nerves. A good constitution, firm nerves, and a complete self-control, add largely to one's comfort, and are gifts to be most grateful for, but are not such as to entitle their possessor to regard with contempt others of a more delicate and sensitive organization. It is noticed that persons of a quick intelligence, and acute perceptions, and refined tastes, are those among whom nervous disorders mostly abound. Women of earnest and self-sacrificing nature, strong affections, and small self-esteem, are generally nervous women; and those, too, are they whom neither fatigue, cold, nor hunger can intimidate when engaged in a work of mercy, and to whom pestilence and death bring no terror when encountered for an object beloved. Show me a woman who prides herself upon her strong nerves and great self-possession, and I will show one utterly incapable of womanly thoughtfulness or womanly feeling.

A very celebrated surgeon was once heard to remark, "I have performed many hundreds of operations, but could never anticipate one without a shudder, and could never look upon a wound without horror; and nothing is so abhorrent to me in a sick room as a woman, unless, indeed, she be a professed nurse, who can witness the one unmoved or bind up the other without emotion. I never would, if avoidable, entrust a patient to a nurse who boasted upon being a stranger to nerves." And he was quite right, too. A sudden glare, a cold draught, a disagreeable whispering, a creaky step, does not inconvenience persons of strong nerves, who regard weak ones as affectations or hypocrisies. It is only the nervous woman that feels the pain of the sudden glare, the chill of the cold draught, the agony of the hissing whisper and creaking shoes. These things are to her real, tangible causes of suffering, and are very carefully guarded against for her patient. It is true, she may not be so skilful in administering medicines, or so expert in dressing wounds, or so strong in lifting, as a calmer and less impulsive, less loving person would be; but oh! she is infinitely more tender in soothing and alleviating. Every sick man knows how much less nauseous the bitter dose becomes when administered by the gentle hands of those who love him, though tremulous with anxiety and hope, than when offered by the most practical and experienced man that ever adorned a quarantine or hospital. Composed, self-possessed, reliable, such may be, but they lack the tenderness so welcome to the sick and despondent—they are proverbially hard. Skill comes both from strong nerves and from strong affections too, but that which comes from the affections is best.

A cousin of Florence Nightingale, lately on a visit to this country, remarked in the hearing of the writer that to none did the determination of that lady to devote her life to the care of the suffering and wounded bring more surprise than to her own family, knowing, as they did, that she was an extremely nervous woman. Nervous she was, and weak in form; but a strong sense of sympathy with suffering took possession of her, and her grand heart urged her to the work; and her energy, her tirelessness, and her great humanity, have become a theme for homage and gratitude the world over.

Hundreds of women might be named who, physically weak, with nerves all unstrung and frames all powerless, inspired by affection, have taken upon themselves new duties, encountered dangers and fatigues almost incredible, to succor or sustain those in distress. Few persons there are who cannot number among their own friends some warm heart who has battled against want, suffering, perhaps shame, with a vigor and courage that might be called wonderful among strong men.

Not long since, the writer was told of a lady whose left side had for many months been rendered nearly useless by neuralgia, who, when her dwelling took fire, and she was being carried out by her neighbors, suddenly recollected that in the cellar there was deposited a quantity of powder, which, if it should explode, would probably cause loss of life, and certainly great loss of property. Immediately she requested to be set on her feet. This being done, she turned at once into the burning building without saying a word to any one, and soon appeared clasping in her arms a keg, which she bore to a stream near, and cast it in, thus averting a great calamity. Strong-nerved people will say she was an imposter—that her illness was an affectation. Oh, good friends, equally without heart and without nerves, you could never understand this illness or this cure.

The daughter of a Senator from a neighboring State, delicately reared, and of a frail, nervous organization, married a poor professional man, who, after an effort of several years, despairing of making a comfortable living at home, resolved upon emigrating West, where he possessed a large tract of land. He accordingly started, built himself a house, or rather a cabin, and returned for his wife, who gave up cheerfully all the comforts of a refined society and a tasteful and pleasant home, to become the companion of bears and Indians. The nearest village was seven miles from them, and the family consisted only of her husband, herself, an infant, and a little colored girl, brought by them from her native State. Her husband, during the first year or two of their sojourn, was obliged to make frequent journeys from home; and during one of those absences she was awakened after midnight by a noise from her babe, which seemed like that of strangulation. She hastily picked it up, took it to the fire, and saw that it was apparently choking to death. She had never witnessed a case of the croup; but the little black girl, who remembered at home seeing her own little brothers have it, at once pronounced it to be that disease. The lady had not provided any remedy in view of this complaint, so prevalent among children, and could only heat some warm water for a bath, as directed by her little handmaiden. The child grew worse. Half wild with terror lest it should die for want of medical aid, she madly asked herself what could be done? Her husband had taken their only horse—she had no one to send after a physician—she must go herself. Hastily and warmly wrapping up her little one, she started upon her sad and fearful journey. The season was October; the night cold, though not dark; and alone, listening but to the struggling breath of her infant, and fearing only lest the aid she sought might be found too late, she hurried through forest and over strange roads, and reached the hamlet in time to save her darling. A more self-possessed and less impulsive woman would have been likely to have reasoned upon the propriety of the journey, the possibility that the child would die on the road, the probability that the doctor might be from home, or that people might pronounce her crazy; but the woman of heart and impulse, though in ordinary times timid, nervous and weak, could, strengthened by her affection, become utterly indifferent or oblivious to the perils that beset a journey through a gloomy wilderness and an unknown country.

We knew personally a lady in Delaware, whose father was Sheriff of the county in which he resided. His dwelling was attached to the jail. On one occasion, a man, who had been committed for horse stealing, set fire to the prison, calculating that the doors of his cell would be opened, and in the confusion he might escape. The flames spread rapidly. They reached the Sheriff's apartments, and the inmates had barely time to escape themselves, without thinking of the prisoners. All at once it was discovered that the keys were in the burning building, and that the prisoners could not be released without them, when Miss Celia R—— resolutely made her way through the smoke and flames, found the keys, and set free all who were in danger.

Many years afterwards, the same lady was on a visit to her brother, when his house was set on fire by a servant girl. It was night when the alarm was given. She was up reading, and instantly flew to the room where the children slept, to see that all was safe there. She found the smoke bursting forth, but felt her way to the bed of the little ones. She found one child on the floor, half suffocated, and bore him to a place of safety, and returned for the other. This, too, she carried out, unmindful of the fierce blaze raging around her. Once again she started back to rescue a little black boy who she believed was sleeping alone. This time, overcome by the heat, she fell with her face on the floor, and when aid came was quite insensible. Both the children died, and her life for a time was despaired of; but she still lives, bearing upon her face and arms traces of danger bravely encountered, and suffering patiently borne—most precious and honorable mementos of courage, devotion, and self-sacrifice.

This lady was, and is, of a most excitable and nervous temperament. The sound of a door swinging on its hinges would be to her a source of insufferable annoyance, and the long-continued tapping of a foot on the floor would cause not only an imploring look, but extort a cry of annoyance probably.

Another circumstance came under the writer's notice some time back. Two or three maiden sisters, noted, not for strength of nerves, but for their many acts of kindness, benevolence and charity, drew upon themselves the fury of a mob by offering succor to a hunted and suffering fellow-creature who had incurred its displeasure.

A black man was passing their residence, dressed in his Sunday best, evidently well pleased with himself, when some boys began to jeer and throw mud and dirt at him. He bore this patiently at first, begging and remonstrating only. Finally he became irritated, and gave one of his tormentors a shove into the gutter. It was in a slave State, and—horror of horrors!—a "nigger" had laid his hand in anger on a white boy! Immediately the whole crowd rushed into the street and commenced pelting him with bricks, stones, etc., which were lying there for building purposes. His head was desperately cut, and he had received a bad blow on the chest, when, in the fury of the moment, he drew a pistol (which, however, turned out not to have a ball in it) and fired it at those who were pressing upon him. It was towards the close of our national holiday, and the street was full of drunken freemen who had been celebrating the glorious Fourth. From all these came up the cry of "Kill him! kill the —— nigger!" Suddenly the windows of the house of the ladies above mentioned were closed; as suddenly the door opened—the hunted and wounded man bounded to the offered refuge—the door was locked and bolted, and for a moment he was safe. But the house had another entrance upon a back street, and in a few seconds every avenue to it was crowded with delirious and drunken men, wild with excitement and mad for mischief. They levelled the fence, made way to the house, forced an entrance, and thronged it from garret to cellar. Threats the most violent were made. Cries of "Fire the house!" "Smoke him out!" etc., were heard; and yet these ladies, timid and weak, without any one to look to for protection from the rudeness and fury of the mob, remained calm and quiet, as though for them nerves had no existence. The victim had escaped, and this thought sustained them until efficient assistance arrived.

We were once introduced to a lady, who, like all we have mentioned, was a nervous woman, and whose face wore an expression, half of fear, half of terror, very difficult to describe. A sudden death in her family, and some sad pecuniary trials, had given her system in early life a shock, from which she seemed never to have recovered. Her life had been a troubled one. Her only surviving son had left his home and enlisted as a common soldier, and for years she could learn nothing of his whereabouts. At the time we first saw her, news of his death had just reached her, and she had the most hopeless and despairing look we ever beheld upon human countenance. The report shortly afterwards was found to be untrue. Her son was alive, and coming home. He came, at last—a handsome and elegant man. Always affectionate and loving to his mother, his joy at being with her again almost exceeded her own great happiness in welcoming him. Alas! but a few days elapsed before he was forced from her side to answer to the dreadful charge of murder, said to have been committed by him in a distant city. The terror and agony that at first seized upon her would, it was thought, terminate her life. Not so. With but a few hours' delay she followed him hundreds of miles, neither stopping for rest nor refreshment by the way, and joined him in his prison.

She staid day and night with him, sharing his coarse fare, cheering, consoling, advising. When the trial came on, she sat beside him in Court, listening eagerly to the evidence, making notes of discrepancy on the part of witnesses, making suggestions to his counsel, and whispering encouragingly to him. When at last the verdict of "Guilty of murder in the first degree" was rendered, instead of folding her hands in despair, she went vigorously to work to procure a pardon; she visited all persons of station and influence she could hear of, and besought their influence and offices in behalf of her son. The Governor's wife and daughter wept with her and entreated for her. Everywhere she spread petitions, and thousands of names rewarded her exertions. But, alas! all without avail. The Governor felt that the evidence did not admit of a doubt, and told her, with much emotion, that her boy must die the death of the murderer. To the last moment she remained with him, steadfastly believing in his innocence, and hushing her own great anguish in hope of sustaining him. She rode with him to the scaffold, his hand clasped in hers; stood beside him when the drop fell, and until all was over; received his body, and with her own hands adjusted it and clad it for the grave; accompanied it (never leaving it a moment) over a thousand miles to lay it in the family vault beside her beloved and honored dead.

Instances innumerable might be adduced to show that women of a sensitive and nervous disposition are really, when occasion calls for it, more heroic and daring, more efficient and tender, more long-suffering and faithful, than those who pride themselves on their strong nerves and strong minds, and look upon all softness and tenderness as a weakness, and thank God that they are not as other women are.

ITALY.

By John G. Whittier.

Across the sea I heard the groans
Of nations in the intervals
Of wind and wave. Their blood and bones
Cried out in torture, crushed by thrones,
And sucked by priestly cannibals.

I dreamed of freedom slowly gained
By martyr meekness, patience, faith.
And lo! an athlete, grimly stained,
With corded muscles battle-strained,
Shouting it from the fields of death!

I turn me, awe-struck, from the sight,
Among the shouting thousands mute,
I only know that God is right,
And that the children of the light
Shall tread the darkness under foot.

I know the pent fire heaves its crust,
That sultry skies the bolt will form
To smite them clear; that Nature must
The balance of her powers adjust,
Though with the earthquake and the storm.

And who am I whose prayers would stay
The solemn recompense of time,
And lengthen slavery's evil day,
That outraged Justice may not lay
Its hand upon the sword of crime!

God reigns, and let the earth rejoice!
I bow before his sterner plan.
Dumb are the organs of my choice;
He speaks in battle's stormy voice,
His praise is in the wrath of man!

—*The Independent.*

THE DEACON'S DILEMMA

OR, THE USE OF THE BEAUTIFUL.

Deacon Tilden had the squarest, neatest white house that ever showed its keen angles from the dusky clumps of old lilac bushes. In front of it stood, on each side of the doorway, two thrifty cherry trees, which bore a bushel each every season. Excepting the aforementioned lilac trees, there was not a flower or shrub round the place. Rose bushes the Deacon thought rotted the house, and the honeysuckle which his wife tried to train over the porch was torn down when the painters came, and, on the whole, the Deacon said, what was the use of putting it up so long as it did not bear anything?

By the side of the house was a thrifty, well-kept garden, with plenty of currant bushes, gooseberry bushes and quince trees—and the beets and carrots and onions were the pride of the Deacon's heart; but, as he often proudly said, "everything was for *use*"—there was nothing fancy about it. His wife put in timorously one season for a flower border—Mrs. Jenkyns had given her a petunia, and Mrs. Simpkins had brought her a package of flower seeds from New York—and so a bed was laid out. But the thrifty Deacon soon found that the weeding of it took time that Mrs. Tilden might give to her dairy, or to making shirts and knitting stockings, and so it really troubled his conscience. The next spring he turned it into his corn field; and, when his wife mildly intimated her disappointment, said placidly, "After all, 'twas a thing of no use, and took time"—and Mrs. Tilden, being a meek woman, and one of the kind of saints who always suppose themselves miserable sinners, specially confessed her sin of being inwardly vexed about the incident in her prayers that night, and prayed that her eyes might be turned off from beholding vanity, and that she might be quickened in the way of minding her work.

The front parlor of the Deacon's house was the most frigid asylum of neatness that ever discouraged the eyes and heart of a visitor. The four blank walls were guiltless of any engraving or painting, or of any adornment but an ordinary wall paper and a framed copy of the Declaration of Independence. On each of the three sides stood four chairs—under the looking-glass was a shining mahogany table, with a large Bible and an almanac on it—and a pair of cold, glistering brass andirons illustrated the fireplace. The mantelshelf above had a pair of bright brass candlesticks with a pair of snuffers between—and that was all. The Deacon liked it—it was plain and simple—no nonsense about it—everything for *use* and nothing for show—it suited him. His wife sometimes sighed and looked round it, when she was sewing, as if she wanted something, and then sung in the good old psalm—

"From vanity turn off my eyes:
Let no corrupt design
Or covetous desires arise
Within this heart of mine."

The corrupt design to which this estimable matron had been tempted had been the purchase of a pair of Parian flower vases, whose beauty had struck to her heart when she went with her butter and eggs to the neighboring city—but recollecting herself in time, she had resolutely shut her eyes to the allurement, and spent the money *usefully* in buying loaf sugar.

For it is to be remarked that the Deacon was fond of good eating, and prided himself on the bounties of his wife's table. Few women knew better how to set one—and the snowy bread, golden butter, clear preserves and jellies, were themes of admiration at all the tea tables in the land. The Deacon didn't mind a few cents in a pound more for a nicer ham, and would now and then bring in a treat of oysters from the city when they were dearest. These were *comforts*, he said—one must stretch a point for the comforts of life.

The Deacon must not be mistaken for a tyrannical man or a bad husband. When he quietly put his wife's flower patch into his corn field, he thought he had done her a service by curing her of an absurd notion for things that took time and made trouble, and were of no use; and she, dear soul, never had breathed a dissent to any course of his loud enough to let him know she had one. He laughed in his sleeve often when he saw her so tranquilly knitting or shirt making at those times she had been wont to give to her poor little contraband pleasures. As for the flower vases, they were repented of—and Mrs. Tilden put a handful of spring anemones into a cracked pitcher and set it on her kitchen table, till the Deacon tossed them out of the window—"he couldn't bear to see weeds growing round."

The poor little woman had a kind of chronic heart-sickness, like the pining of a teething child, but she never knew exactly what it was she wanted. If she ever was sick, no man could be kinder than the Deacon. He has been known to harness in all haste and rush to the neighboring town at four o'clock in the morning, that he might bring her some delicacy she had a fancy for—for that he could see the use of; but he could not sympathize in her craving desire to see Powers's Greek Slave, which was exhibiting in a neighboring town. "What did Christian people want of *stun* images?" he wanted to know. He thought the Scripture put that thing down—"Eyes have they, but they see not—ears have they, but they hear not—neither speak they through their throat. They that make them are like unto them: so is every one that trusteth in them." There was the Deacon's opinion of the arts; and Mrs. Deacon only sighed, and wished she could see it, that was all.

But it came to pass that the Deacon's eldest son went to live in New York, and from that time strange changes began to appear in the family that the Deacon didn't like; but as Jethro was a smart, driving lad, and making money at a great pace, he at first said nothing. But on his mother's birthday, down he came and brought a box for his mother, which, being unpacked, contained a Parian statuette of Paul and Virginia—a lovely, simple little group as ever told its story in clay.

Everybody was soon standing round it in open-mouthed admiration, and poor Mrs. Tilden wiped her eyes more than once as she looked on it. It seemed a vision of beauty in the desolate neatness of the best room.

"Very pretty, I s'pose," said the Deacon doubtfully—for like most fathers of spirited twenty-three year olders, he began to feel a little in awe of his son—"but dear me, what a sight of money to give for a thing that after all is of no use!"

"I think," said Jethro, looking at his mother's suffused eyes, "it is one of the most *useful* things that has been brought into the house this many a day."

"I don't see how you're going to make that out," said the Deacon, looking apprehensively at the young Wisdom that had risen in his household.

"What will you wager me, father, that I will prove out of your own mouth that this statuette is as useful as your cart and oxen."

"I know you've got a great way of coming round folks, and twitching them up before they fairly know where they are; but I'll stan' you on this question, any way." And the Deacon put his yellow silk bandanna over his bald head, and took up his position in the window seat.

"Well now, father, what is the use of your cart and oxen?"

"Why, I could not work the farm without them, and you'd all have nothing to eat, drink or wear."

"Well, and what is the use of our eating, drinking and wearing?"

"Use? why, we could not keep alive without it."

"And what is the use of our keeping alive?"

"The use of our keeping alive?"

"Yes, to be sure, why do we try and strive and twist and turn to keep alive, and what's the use of living?"

"Living!—why, we want to live; we enjoy living—all creatures do—dogs and cats and every kind of beast. Life is sweet."

"The use of living, then, is that we enjoy it?"

"Yes."

"Well, we all enjoy this statuette, so that there is the same value to that that there is in living; and if your oxen and carts and food and clothes, and all that you call necessary things, have no value except to keep in life, and life has no value except enjoyment, then this statuette is a short cut to the great thing for which your farm and everything else is designed. You do not enjoy your cart for what it is, but because of its use to get food and clothes—and food and clothes we value for the enjoyment they give. But a statuette or a picture, or any beautiful thing, gives enjoyment *at once*. We enjoy it the moment we see it—for itself, and not for any use we mean to make of it. So that strikes the great end of life quicker than anything else, don't it? Hey, father—haven't I got my case?"

"I believe the pigs are getting into the garden," said the Deacon, rushing out of the front door.

But to his wife he said before going to bed, "Isn't it amazing the way Jethro can talk? I couldn't do it myself, but I had it in me though if I'd had his advantages. Jethro is a chip of the old block."—*Harriet Beecher Stowe, in The Independent.*

DUTY OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO THE STATE.

Every man owes to the State a virtuous and upright life. Good morals are not alone a religious duty: they are a political and a civil duty. He is a bad citizen, and so a wicked man, who neglects the ripest and richest Christian morals. No man has any more right in the eye of the State than in the eye of God to be a bad man. "I know it is said that sometimes men are their own worst enemies. You do not know about that. You do not know how much they may be other people's enemies. It is said in the same breath, "It is nobody's business but his own what vices a man practises so that he does not inflict them upon other men." Do you suppose men live completely isolated from each other? Do you suppose there are no vital sympathies that connect man with man? When a quantity of ripe apples lie together in a barrel, if one rots is it nothing to the rest whether it rots or not? Is not the community confederated, woven together, by ties common to all? Is it not permeated by nerves that more or less carry the conduct and principles of one sympathetically through the whole? What if a plank in the side of a ship on a voyage should begin to rot, and the other planks protesting, it should say, "It is my own business if I do rot!" As if every particle of wood from mast to keel, and from stem to stern, had not an interest in every other particle of wood! There is not a man in the State whose welfare does not affect me and my children, and you and your children; and the good conduct or the bad conduct of every citizen is more or less the concern of every other citizen in the State. One of the duties of every man, therefore, is to present himself as a man, a Christian man, to the State. In Greece, it was the custom of men who had done some service to their community and who wished to be perpetuated as good citizens, to have their statues carved in marble, if in moderate circumstances; in ivory, if wealthy, and in gold, if very rich, and present them to the temple of the Deity that reigned over the region where they dwelt. And so the Temple of Diana became a museum of art as well as a temple of worship, and it was filled with these statues of its principal citizens. It is not for us to present stone, or ivory, or gold, to the State. The duties of living men nobly performed—these are the best gifts which you can present to the State that has nourished you.

We owe to the State that noble gift, a well-trained and well-reared household. What if a man were to procure, and to lay out a stately park, planting it with all noble trees, and with all beauteous shrubbery, and making it a place to be desired as a garden of Eden, and then present it to the State where he dwells? How noble a gift that would be! How noble a method it would be of perpetuating one's name to generations unborn! Or what if one were to found a gallery of art, filled with the products of the skill of the best artists, making it as free for all men in the city to look at as God's clouds in the heavens? How noble a thing would that be! Such gifts are most admirable. And yet, there is no other such gift possible to the State as a family of healthy, intelligent children, reared to industry, to morality, to patriotism, who will fear God and love their country. It may not be in your power to leave what men call riches; but if you have virtuous children, you will leave the best riches that it is possible to leave to the State. And every Christian man that rears his family aright, and does it not merely for their respectability, but with a true spirit of patriotism, he is able to present to his country the best gift that God has given to any man to give. Not the crown of a king, not the prince's sceptre, no treasure of art, no natural beauty, so becomes the State or the giver, as a trained band of virtuous citizens.

The civil expenses, the cost of courts and police, of public improvements and conveniences in buildings, streets, roads, and sanitary arrangements, are equally divided among the citizens. The wish to avoid a just proportion of public burdens is wicked, and the practical attempt to avoid them is mean. No Christian should meet his taxes grudgingly. They should not only be honest, but patterns to other men of fidelity to their civil obligations. If my observation serves me, men of moderate wealth, or who gain a daily subsistence, are the most willing to pay their taxes without murmuring. But men with whom wealth has become an ambition, or who have grown avaricious, are exceedingly unwilling to bear a just share of taxation, and resort to dishonorable subterfuges, concealments, and lies, to avoid their patriotic duty. There is many and many a rich man that will not hesitate to perjure himself in respect to the value of his property. There are many that will not hesitate to cheat the State in the payment of a just and necessary tax. There is many a rich man that is meaner, a thousand times, than the poorest of the poor. What pretensions can a man that is unjust in this way to the State, make to being a Christian? If he is a Christian, he is a Christian with a great hole through his heart. Meanness has tunnelled him, and the devil runs his trains through and through the dark passage of his avarice every day!

When I see a man so addicted to art or wealth that he will not give any thought to public affairs, but spends his time reading foreign reviews, and art journals, and prices current, and pleasant stories, I say to myself, "What an unworthy citizen is he!" But when I see a man at noon, between the hours of labor, cocked up on his dray, reading quietly to himself, or aloud to two or three listeners, of things relating to the conduct of government and public affairs, I say to myself, "That is the citizen." Dirty as his clothes may be, and jacketless as he may be, give me him rather than the man who sits on gold, clothed in purple. For only he that prepares himself for citizen's duty, and puts himself in sympathetic connections with the affairs of his country, can be said to be a true citizen.—Henry Ward Beecher.

Extraordinary Discovery of an Ancient Printing Press in India.—When Warren Hastings was Governor-General of India, he observed that in the District of Benares, a little below the surface of the earth, is to be found a stratum of a kind of fibrous, woody substance, of various thicknesses, in horizontal layers. Major Roebuck, informed of this, went out to a spot where the excavation had been made displaying this singular phenomenon. In digging somewhat deeper for the purpose of further research, they laid open a vault, and on it movable types, placed as if ready for printing. Every inquiry was set on foot to ascertain the probable period at which such an instrument could have been placed there, for it was evidently not of modern origin, and from all the Major could collect, it appeared probable that the place had remained in the state in which it was found for at least one thousand years. We believe the worthy Major, on his return to England, presented one of the learned associations with a memoir, containing many curious speculations on the subject. Paper we know to have been manufactured in the East many centuries before we had any knowledge of it; and we have many reasons to think that the Chinese had been acquainted with the mode of printing they now employ many centuries before Faust invented it in Europe. It certainly does no credit to the inventive genius of the Romans, to know that while they approached so near as to engrave, in a style not to be equalled in the present age, on gems and stones, and, of course, the taking of impressions from them, that they should still have remained ignorant of the art which has bestowed so many blessings on mankind.

MOUNTAINS AND VALLEYS.

From the German of Krummacher.

On Alpine heights the love of God is shed;